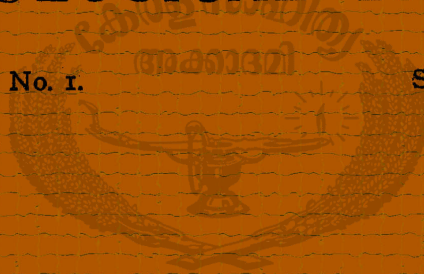


THE
SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

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LEPLAY HOUSE.

AFTER many changes the Sociological Society finds itself back again in Westminster, whence it originally issued. This time the location is for permanence, it may be hoped. Through the generosity of two donors the lease of a house has been purchased, and made over to the Society, subject to certain charges during the life of the donors. Considerable funds are still needed for purchase of books to bring the library up to date, for furniture, and equipment of the new rooms, and, if possible, to clear off the Bank overdraft of about £200. If each member of the Society would undertake to obtain at least one new recruit to the membership, the financial position of the Society would be much eased. An inset form of application will be found in this number of the REVIEW.

The name Leplay House has been chosen for the premises to commemorate one of the less known founders of social science. An English biography of Leplay has long been wanting. The late Mrs. Herbertson undertook many years ago to supply the deficiency. With not a little aid from her husband (the late Professor of Geography in Oxford, who was a devoted student of Leplay), Mrs. Herbertson completed her task. The Manuscript was placed for a final revision in the hands of the Editor of the *Sociological Review*. It is with sorrow that he now expresses deep regrets at not having completed the revision before the death of Mrs. Herbertson. The work, however, is now ready for publication, and a first instalment appears in this number of the REVIEW.

SUGGESTIONS TOWARDS A NATIONAL POLICY IN AGRICULTURE.

I.

(Abstract of a Paper read at a Meeting of the Sociological Society
on March 23rd, 1920, at Leplay House.)

POST-WAR prostration is gradually wearing off, and events are rapidly developing. An immediate, if deliberate and far-reaching land policy, transcending in importance all ephemeral, double-edged measures, such as shorter hours, higher wages, control, subsidies, nationalisation, war-wealth and other taxes, is an actual and vital issue.

We must clearly visualize the situation of a half-deserted countryside dotted with overgrown towns; a congested industry standing over against a starved agriculture; a growing dependence on exports to meet increasing imports; the days of cheap food imports gone for ever. All these burdens of the present are a heritage of the coal age.

Some of the best minds of the country have addressed themselves to the problem of a scientific land policy. Enquiries of such men as Sir Thomas Middleton, Sir D. Hall, Prof. Long and others show British agriculture as a whole as understocked, undermanned, undercapitalized, underspirited, underorganized, in fact at the pre-industrial stage, able only to thrive in war time. The gist of their conclusions is—more people to the land, more land to the people, more money and brains into the land.

Materials for reconstruction are not wanting. For knowledge of rocks and subsoils there is the Geological Survey; for climate a special service, though as yet far from related to the needs of Agriculture. An incipient and unofficial botanical survey, *i.e.*, endeavours to elicit the relations of climate and soil to the spontaneous vegetation, and the division of the land into natural regions.

On the other hand (thanks to the Schools and Colleges of Agriculture, and other institutional endeavours, supplementing and refining the English tradition of experimental farming), there is sufficient working knowledge of the treatment and manuring of soils, of equipment and machinery, of seeds and breeds, of cropping

and feeding, manipulation and marketing, of pests and remedies, of farm economics, of credit and co-operation. Yet all this is but the woof or weft of reconstruction. The more geographical or, say, geotechnic warp is yet wanting.

There are statistics of production of this, that or other product, and of the distribution and use of the land. There are columns and tables, even graphs. What, above all, is needed is Maps.

(1) *Statistical maps*—to show what is being done and where and wherefore: a synoptic presentment of the distribution, use and production of the land in relation to its natural features. Fragments undoubtedly exist in surveyors', bailiffs' or landowners' offices. There even exist for small areas, charts of production of special articles (Surrey, Sussex and Kent—Hall and Russell; Nottinghamshire and Shropshire—County Councils; Norfolk and Eastern Counties—Cambridge). All these elements are partial and await standardization, and of course need to be integrated.

(2) *Potential or Capacity maps*—of constructive value, to show what might be done and where and wherefore; a study of each plot of land and its physical and other conditions would indicate what use the land might be set to, what is its ultimate capacity with the best modern husbandry, whether for afforestation, grazings, meadows, cereals, beetroot, tobacco or what not.

From these surveys would emerge a view of the natural regions and subdivisions into which the land divides and their boundaries, the speciality of each, what they are best adapted for, their ultimate capacity under the best treatment, not only actual but potential, as drainage, reclamation and improvements might fit them for; what capacity in feeding and supporting men and families, whether fit for small, medium or large holdings, etc.

The comparison of two such sets of maps, exhibiting synoptically the actual and the potential, would afford the basis of any practical plan of reconstruction. Such cartographic data are to a cultural reconstruction what plans and elevations are to the building of a house.

Had two such sets of maps been available at the beginning of the war, the authorities would have known exactly what to expect from every corner of the land, and how to set about getting it. Not for war only but essentially for constructive peace and internal peace, for an agricultural policy, for land values and taxation, such an agricultural survey of actualities and potentialities of the land is of immediate and urgent interest.

MARCEL HARDY.

II.

NOTE BY SIR A. D. HALL.

SURVEYS and maps of the character that Dr. Hardy indicates must undoubtedly form the basis of any systematic campaign for increasing the production of our land.

Steps are being taken at the present time to obtain a series of maps of the existing crop and stock production throughout the country. The soil surveys which have been undertaken in various parts of the country are also being extended and improved. It will take some time, however, before the country is covered, especially as the fundamental basis, a modern drift map on a 6-inch scale has not been carried out by the Geological Survey, nor, as far as I am aware, is contemplated by them. Neither the statistical maps nor the soil survey will, however, of themselves get closely enough down to the land to supply what Dr. Hardy calls a capacity map on which the Ministry of Agriculture or the Agricultural Committee of the District could act in issuing directions for cultivation. They would, in fact, be of service chiefly to the experts advising individual farmers; *e.g.*, the expert when consulted about a particular field or farm, after identifying the soils and characteristics upon the soil map and with the knowledge also afforded by the crop distribution map, could then take the local features of drainage, aspect, communications, etc., into account and advise as to the best use to which the land in question should be put.

Ultimately one wants to see a detailed survey made for each parish and publically exposed within the parish. To make this survey a field to field inspection would be required by an expert armed with the knowledge acquired from the general soil and statistical survey.

But when all the surveys have been executed and the knowledge is available the difficulties of securing the maximum production only begin. Granted the knowledge of how to make the best use of the land can be placed before the farmer, he is not always in a position to use it. In the first place the personal factor is enormous. The education of the farming community will have to proceed very considerably before the full value of such surveys can be realised. It is very common to see a farm conducted on a low scale of production, the output and the profit from which might be greatly enhanced, but where one can at once agree that the existing occupier is quite incapable of changing his methods and making a success on a more intensive basis. For example, a man may be earning such a living as contents him off a pure grass farm which in the hands of a more energetic man could be converted into an arable

farm with a much greater output, yet to force that particular occupier to the enterprise of arable farming on a large scale would often result in no higher output of food and great personal loss to the occupier, who was after all getting something out of the land and paying his way.

Secondly, we are the inheritors of an old and complicated land system which in very many cases results in the countryside being settled on a plan far from consistent with maximum production. The boundaries of farms, fields and estates are often all wrong, yet their rectification is an expensive if not an impossible matter under present conditions of ownership.

Capital again is short, and it is difficult to see under the conditions of tenure which mainly prevail in this country how capital is to be found for fundamental reconstruction which is so often needed. Very generally one can find areas the productive capacity of which could be enormously enhanced if one possessed autocratic powers and considerable capital in order to drain, remove hedges, readjust the boundaries, erect buildings, for the new forms of cultivation that would be rendered possible, but where the mere existence of a number of separate owners possessing different interests and powers forms an effective bar to progress.

Again, in the question of enhanced production from the land one is always being confronted by the conflict of public interest and private profit. It often would be to the public interest to see a given area intensively cultivated under the plough, but the occupiers are persuaded that they can make more profit at the much lower level of production involved in keeping the land down to grass.

I instance these difficulties not as deprecating the value and indeed the prime need of surveys of the kind Dr. Hardy desiderates but rather with the view of suggesting that they require to be accompanied by economic surveys dealing with the social factors involved in increased production. But as the first step towards a policy of agricultural reconstruction I agree that statistical and soil surveys are wanted.

A. D. HALL.

THE PASSING OF INDUSTRIALISM.

THE war presumably marks the end of an age no less decisively than did the wars of the French Revolution. In this case, however, it is not a venerable and moribund society like the *Ancien Regime* that is passing away, but a transitional order, which was essentially a compromise and which never attained to a mature and consistent development.

Will the new age be a continuation of the main tendencies of the 19th century or a reaction against them? Will the world continue to "progress" in the old Liberal sense, or shall we witness a return to older principles which have been falling into discredit for the last few centuries? Those who incline to the latter view are already numerous in England; but the popular belief in the infallibility of "progressive" principles is still hardly touched.

The last age was essentially a time of violent and destructive change. It doubtless resembled, on a far larger scale, the hundred years of disorganisation and expansion in the Ancient World which preceded the establishment of the Roman Empire. And like that period it was necessarily transitory. It can only be explained as the transition state between one relatively stable order of society and another; in the one case from the city-state to the Roman Empire, in the other from mediæval society to what we may hope is a new world order.

The last age was an age of exploitation and therefore its duration was limited; it was not simply a case of the exploitation of the weak by the strong as in the last age of the Roman Republic; it was the exploitation of the world and of its resources by man. The natural riches lying unused for ages were spent recklessly for the sake of immediate advantage without thought of the future. It was the case of a pigmy, with the mind and aims of a pigmy, suddenly endowed with the power of a giant. In England the whole powers of the nation were thrown recklessly into the struggle for exploitation. The welfare of the people, the moral law, were thrown aside in order that the newly discovered riches could be made profitable; that the iron and coal and cotton could be put on the world market, and the riches of the exploiters increased. Thus there was not only no spiritual purpose in the process—there was not even a worthy human end. On the immense suffering and labour of the people was built up the hideous edifice of Victorian industrial society.

The men of that age did not realise that this process could not last. They accepted the industrialisation of England and the wealth that sprang from it as a natural consequence of the freedom of society and trade. England was in the nature of things fitted to be the workshop of the world, though other nations might follow her progress at a distance, and there could be no question but that the new order was desirable and permanent. In reality the note of the time was not freedom, but conquest and exploitation. England had gained an advantage over the rest of the world by the evolution of the new industry and capitalism and of the new *entrepreneur* class, while the rest of Europe was absorbed in war and politics, and also by her naval and colonial supremacy, and for many years the whole world was economically at her mercy. Lancashire and Birmingham obtained an artificial and temporary command of the markets of the East, and the new world became a great plantation from which the British factories drew their raw material.

The industrialization of England was completed in the latter part of the 19th century when her dependence on the home food supply was eliminated by the development of steam transport. Henceforward she was truly cosmopolitan, existing for and supported by the world market, and agriculture ceased to be of national importance either socially or economically. But by the time this had happened England was no longer the one great workshop of the world. The nations of the continent and the U.S.A. had revolted against the economic supremacy of England, and had organized themselves afresh so as to gain a share in the new industry and in the world trade that had made her rich. The industrialization of the continent, however, was built up not on the optimistic free-trade individualism which had established itself in Great Britain half a century earlier. Protective tariffs, organized educations, and labour legislation were all co-ordinated by the State to one end. The economic powers of the nation were concentrated so as to give one another mutual support; and the race between the nations for industrial efficiency and commercial supremacy, went hand in hand with the increase in armaments and the struggle for military power. The world was too small for the gigantic development of the new industrial powers, and in every market they jostled and undercut one another for an opening. No country was too small or too backward to join in the race, and even the Oriental nations began to take their part. The old distinction between manufacturing and agricultural lands tended to disappear, and even in the new countries of N. America and Australasia industrialization outstripped agrarian development. Almost every nation became obsessed by the idea of using the resources of its

own territory solely for its own enrichment. So that while industrialism is becoming ever more universal, the international markets are becoming relatively more restricted.

The economic supremacy, first of 19th century England, then of Western Europe, was based on a monopoly of industrial skill and capital and on an unlimited supply of cheap raw material. Prairie farming—*i.e.*, the cheap and wasteful cultivation of great spaces of fertile virgin soil—rendered possible the cheap food supply, which in turn permitted low wages and cheap labour. But already this state of things is coming to an end. So rapid has been the process of development, so quickly has the increase of population answered the stimulus of the new conditions that extensive agriculture even before the war was becoming out of date. Even in the prairies of the Western states land was becoming sufficiently valuable to repay careful cultivation, and the price of corn and meat was rising steadily.

The vacant spaces of the earth are not yet filled, but they are already limited and the end of the process is in sight. The new world of five continents is becoming a closed and settled area like the old world of Southern Europe and S. Asia; and once again there begins the severe pressure of great nations on territory and food supply. The limitation of the future is not one of industrial skill and capital, but one of raw materials. As population advances, the price of raw materials must increase, while, owing to the growing perfection of organization and machinery, there is practically no limit to the reduction in costs of manufacture. In the long run the valuable capital will not be machinery or the labour which can work it, for these can be found everywhere, thanks to the spread of industrialism, but the produce of the soil, the amount of which is essentially limited. Thus there will be a tendency for agriculture to recover the place that it lost in the 19th century and to become once more the basis of national prosperity. The need for intensive cultivation will involve the concentration of more money, more labour and more thought on agriculture. The peasant, who was in 19th century England an unimportant and neglected member of society, will doubtless become influential, and will demand a larger share in the produce of his labour. No land will be poor enough to be neglected, or rich enough to be cultivated wastefully. The aim of the agriculture of the future will be the maximum produce rather than the maximum net profit, and every productive possibility will have to be developed to the full. This will involve the increase of the agricultural population in all the regions of the New and Old World where intensive cultivation is not already the rule, and points ultimately to the growth of a new territorial self-sufficiency. This process is already at work in the

It is of the essence of the process that not only can this fitting in be carried out within one occupation, but also as between different occupations, and moreover in widening circles till we pass from the Region to the Nation, and beyond. There is, as we are so often reminded, an International Finance, and this, taken at its best, is a rough or ready adjustment to crude empirical International Economy.

As an indispensable preliminary to all this, the idea of survey must again be insisted upon, survey not only in detail, but in broad outline also. A suggestive survey of the latter type is Prof. Fleure's book, in the "Making of the Future Series," on "Human Geography in Western Europe" with its very illuminating divisions of (a) Regions of Increment, (b) Regions of Effort, and (c) Regions of Difficulty; markedly in contrast to the prevailing political and racial divisions which so often conceal or confuse the essential facts. For any comprehensive plan of financial and economic re-construction, a mapping out of the ground on these lines is of fundamental importance, suggesting as it does the possible interplay of one region with another, and the co-ordination of all. For after all the main business of Finance is the organizing of markets and a chain of clearing houses. (As an instance of what has been done in this way and well worthy of study, I may refer to the systematic organization of Agriculture in Germany before the war.) From one point of view, then, Finance appears as concerned in finding or organizing markets.

Lest any misapprehension should arise owing to my having drawn upon agriculture for illustrations, let me say here that I am by no means overlooking the need for a similar re-organization in regard to industries and towns. Whilst I have taken Agriculture as the basal industry, the need for organizing and integrating the manifold specialisms in industry is no less urgent. All that is manifestly implied in the idea of a Regional Economy, based on Regional Surveys.

To take but one instance analogous to that of the farm labourer, we are now too familiar with the ever-recurring demands for a minimum wage, and the almost daily requests for a fresh raising of that minimum irrespective of its economic possibility in relation to the specific industry involved. How can this be met unless by a scientific organizing of industry as a whole? Nor should the matter stop there. It is essential that the re-organization should take an even wider view, and that the conventional separation between town and country, between agriculture and industry should so far cease to exist, and these two complementary and mutually essential activities be brought into a genuine co-ordination.

To deal with this aspect of the subject in detail, however, would be entirely beyond the scope of this paper. It is vividly touched

upon by Kropotkin in his "Fields, Factories and Workshops," a book which is, I believe, little remembered, but which would amply repay a fresh study at the present time.

I hope then that I have said enough to make clear the rôle I suggest for the financier which sees him as an estimator of potential values directing and co-ordinating the corresponding energies, and thus the arbiter of the distribution of resources, but no longer as exploiter or free lance, but rather as Field Marshal guiding and directing the movements of an army organized for the definite purpose, not of loot, but of the conquest of Nature for the service of the race.

JOHN ROSS.

Part Three.

MENTAL RE-ACTIONS.

Is it not of greater importance than is usually recognized, to emphasize the psychological point of view in discussions of Finance? What is the mental reaction of finance on all of us ordinary people of the current type of our day? In the result is not our attention too much directed towards the possibility of "making some money," as the phrase goes, by hearing of "a good thing" and acting on the news, and generally by obtaining a rise in capital value without effort? This is I believe called the "science of investment." In so far as these impulses operate, our attention is to a smaller or greater extent distracted from the attempt to do better work (and so enrich ourselves and the community too) towards getting some money out of other people by this "sound system of investment."

It is difficult to estimate what proportion of modern "capital" represents past savings, and what proportion represents mere claims on future output with no corresponding present assets; but admittedly there is a proportion of the latter kind, *e.g.* all the war debt and possibly (as many believe) an appreciable proportion of capitalized commercial values. This possibility of creating claims with no corresponding present assets constitutes a temptation to become clever in that kind of finance. All this tends to develop therefore an undesirable type of citizen and to make us all approximate in greater or less degree towards that type, in essence that of the gambler. It is perhaps in what is termed the "return for risk" that we must seek for the root of the process that inflates capital claims beyond the savings of thrift. It is suggested that all that element in the returns made to capital which it is claimed is the "return for risk" should be socialized, and for two reasons, the one psychological, the other economic. The psychological reason is that in this way we should divert attention from the chances of personal gain through speculation and leave men free to aim at gain through such methods as breeding better stock, and producing better goods, or doing better services to the community. The

economic reason is that if these risks are pooled on a sufficiently large scale they will cancel out and can be met by a low insurance rate.

Under such circumstances investments would be selected according to social considerations and not to the chances of personal gain. It would then be for the best minds of the district concerned in the managing of the district banks (to be set up, we will suppose, in accordance with Mr. Ross's Surveys) to decide what speculative risks are to be borne by that bank, perhaps under a still more comprehensive insurance system. Under such a system all the private person who has saved money would have to do, would be to let the district bank have it at a low rate of interest with the whole security of the district (and possibly still more comprehensive security) behind it.

How can we approximate towards such a state of things?

Can we not set on foot beside the old finance a new system which will work in this direction? There is in normal times a large amount of capital ready to be invested in anything that will give security with a comparatively low return. This security should be provided by a system of insurance and by arranging that the value of this capital be kept at par by making it possible to withdraw it, if not at any time, then over a period of years, so that no more say than one-tenth can be claimed during any one year. It should, however, be the *custom* to repay the whole investment of any individual when needed because under such a system nothing like one-tenth of the whole would be claimed in any year. The constant buying and selling for speculative purposes would be avoided, so that any investor who needed the money could practically be paid in full at any time.

So far for the psychological reaction on the investor and the method of dispensing with the speculator. We must consider what type of business is to be encouraged by the use of capital. Having agreed with the Socialists as to the socialization of the risks, let us next agree with the Individualists as to the desirability of a general distribution of private property within the capacity of each family to handle and manage. If the financiers whom we assume to be in charge of the District Banks set up after the surveys demanded by Mr. Ross are socialized in their outlook and have to meet the demands of a democratic local community, they will consider the field of investment from the point of view of the reaction of investments upon the happiness, wealth, and life of the whole community. They will therefore look out for investments which will tend to distribute these good things as far as possible over the whole community. Their practical aim will be to provide an environment that makes a full life possible to all. They will therefore encourage all forms of co-operative activity, they will provide for such things

as Housing, Small Holdings, Credit for Guilds, and above all, perhaps best of all, they will encourage inventors and discovery.

One of the worst features of the present system is the discouragement inventors meet—the difficulty they have in getting their inventions considered at all, much less suitably financed, and the not infrequent result that a new invention is bought up and suppressed by some firm interested in selling things produced less economically because its capital is locked up in obsolescent machinery.

The general accumulation of a common fund should be a charge on the profits of the District Banks. If they have, as would usually be the case, a margin beyond the needs of investment they would devote it to matters of local benefit which do not give a direct return, *e.g.* negotiations with owners for new footpaths in country districts. Has anyone reflected that, considering what a source of communal well-being and recreation we have in our footpaths through the fields in this country it is extraordinary that we are only allowed to use the remnant of those created in the middle ages or earlier whilst new ones are practically never dedicated to the public? Again, sums could be voted for the upkeep of derelict country-houses as parish clubs and of their gardens as common possessions. Sums could be devoted to the encouragement of music, dancing, and other forms of art.

There is a great treasury of profit and potential wealth which would in these ways be devoted to common purposes were it not either left dormant or devoted to the pleasures of a few. One of the many psychological reactions of all this would manifest itself when people made their wills, issuing it maybe in gifts to the local community comparable in time to those formerly made to the Monasteries.

The beginnings of such a system have long been sporadically at work in connection with various forms of the bettering of environment and of co-operation, but they have not been organized, developed and unified. But if those interested in the socialization of Finance would unite their efforts and develop on some such lines as those suggested, in connection with the co-operative movement and the Guild movement, they would surely enlist the support and sympathy of the churches and indeed of all people of goodwill, and the system thus adumbrated should grow till in course of time it overshadowed the present system, and became the typical finance of the country. It is open to people to try it. No special legislative enactments are required before starting such a system. It would be greatly helped by enlisting the support of existing co-operative organizations, but all it needs is a combination of people of goodwill and the help of business men who would like to promote a better and happier world.

SYBELLA BRANFORD.

THE NEW CIVIC SPIRIT IN GERMANY.

THE New Germany will be the Old Germany deprussianized. This was the conclusion I reached during a tour through Central Europe, including Germany, Bohemia, Austria and Hungary. By Old Germany I mean Germany under militarism and autocracy. The New Germany is the Social Republic that is rising from the ruins of financial, industrial and imperial Germany. To the close observer who enters Germany to-day the three most apparent things are demoralisation, recovery and discovery. If he is able to contrast the present with the past he will have no difficulty in determining the true origin and nature of these things. To begin with he will be aware of the gigantic strides forward that were made by Germany up to the beginning of the war, and of the promise to continue them now that the war is over. He will be aware too of the great difficulty that attended this particular kind of recovery owing to the serious attempt that has been made by Germany's opponents during the past five years to discredit all immediate pre-war advance in Germany by associating it with militarism. Such opponents allowed the war to blind them to the truth. The great truth is that militarism has nothing to do with advance. Certainly militarism existed in pre-war Germany. It was this, combined with autocracy, that formed the very odious national mixture which we may call Prussianism. And no one would deny that militarism went at a gallop in its own direction. Moreover, it is clear that, knowing the power exerted by politics, philosophy and science, the militarist-autocratic party contrived to evoke their aid as though convinced that their influence and assistance would be of the highest service both to the Party itself and its cause. Occasionally we come across pre-war forms of art and music through which the militaristic poison gas was conducted. By this means the said Party built up a very great system of military organisation and manufacture. It manufactured false ambition and false hope and false confidence in itself. It manufactured the greatest war machine the world has ever known, and it manufactured a great army most admirably equipped to serve some purpose or other the precise nature of which has perhaps to be determined. Some say it was for iniquitous world-conquest, others, to defend Germany against threatened encirclement. In any case all it has achieved is to prove that military organisation is not everything; and that it is opposed to the chief element of advance, righteousness. There-

fore if pre-war Germany was making an advance this trend was not in the direction of militarism.

The fact of the matter is that in pre-war Germany there were two vast organisations, if I may call them so, which practically divided the nation in two. There was the calculated notorious military organisation and there was the spontaneous Garden of Eden organisation. Germany was in fact a house with a dark and a bright side. Everywhere on the one side there was preparation for war, and everywhere on the other side there was a counteracting preparation for peace. By keeping the two sides distinct it is possible to trace the beginnings of a new unified and peaceful Germany under the old national ideal long before the war began, and to follow its growth and development under a new national ideal in the future. It first appeared as part and parcel of an intelligent proposal to produce the peaceful citizen in a peaceful environment under peaceful conditions of labour. In a word it was proposed to produce a creatively peaceful people by persuading men and women to lay aside their old wasteful and false civic habits and to put on new ones fashioned out of an intelligent conception of natural economy, the improved conditions of individual and social life, the elimination of poverty, the extirpation of disease, the elevation of legitimate play to a prominent place in the modern scheme of education and existence, and the formation of a rational attitude of mind of every citizen towards individual and social freedom to be won by the generous encouragement of the assertion of individual initiative and genius moving in the direction of creative endeavour and ultimate peace. Actually this movement worked wonders. No German city or town was without it. Science, commerce, industry, industrial and social institutions, schools, theatres, workshops, all felt its beneficial influence. There was a very great deal of evidence indeed to testify to the birth in Germany of a genuine civic pride. There is no doubt that a great number of German people were proud to devote their energies if not exclusively, then as far as possible, to the fascinating new game of citizen-making. They certainly believed that every thought and act to be nationally right should first of all be civically right. A mere reference to one branch of activity of the general civic movement will be sufficient to show how earnest and far-reaching was the endeavour to make things civically right. Many years before the war began Germany undertook to make it clear to its overcrowded city dwellers and industrial workers that a great principle, that which involved their health and the freest use of their faculties, was demanding to be applied, and that this principle, upon which rested the German housing reform, would lead them out of monstrous and indecent barracks and block dwellings into revitalis-

ing surroundings. Industrially, the principle was applied as early as 1863 by Krupp at Essen, who subsequently built over 4,000 dwellings housing some 30,000 persons. In 1871 Barmen started a society, and about 1884 came Pastor Bodelschwingh with his reforming efforts at Bielefeld to draw general attention to the subject. These steps, however, were but initial ones, according to a book that was handed to me by Herr Ludwig Degener, publisher, 15 Hospital Strasse, Leipzig. This book, an important and comprehensive summary of the Economic and Technical Aspects of the Garden City Movement (*"Wirtschaftliche und technische Gesichtspunkte zur Gartenstadtbewegung,"* Von F. Beil), contains a number of comparative tables giving the facts and figures of the housing and town-planning enterprises in various countries, Germany, England, America, and so on. It seems that between the early nineties and 1914 there were no less than 108 of these enterprises in Germany as against 33 in England. They are considered under three heads, capitalised undertakings, guild and co-operative undertakings and State, municipal and private undertakings. These bare figures hardly suggest the economic, social and occupational wonders worked in all parts of Germany by this particular current of the civic renaissance. But they are sufficient to suggest that if the thousands of millions that were spent in five years in taking life had been spent in saving life by civic means, that if the citizen had been more honoured than the soldier, the century of civic change upon which Germany has definitely entered would have come in quietly and naturally to continue its course uninterruptedly. Instead the civic renaissance after monopolising the attention of some of the most significant German minds disappeared beneath the horrors of war and has now to be rescued with difficulty—but uninjured let us hope—from the wreckage of a mighty nation.

This wreckage is the outcome of the pre-war circumstances produced by the bad organisation, and is in many respects not to be associated with the altered conditions of to-day, seeing that these conditions have been born of an entirely different set of circumstances. Yet the lives of hundreds of thousands of German men and women are still, and will continue for some time to be affected by circumstances arising out of the pre-war financial, industrial and imperial period of activity. Thus the wreckage denotes both the present stage of demoralisation and the probable path of escape from that condition of slavery that was set up by the factors of demoralisation. In former days the maxim of Imperial Germany was that the nation should live partly in military barracks and partly at the counter, and all its transactions should be in terms of the Treasury and the counting house. Thus it gave everything a

gold value instead of an energy-credit value. The war has relieved the country of its gold and the change, in its consequence, amounts to a tragedy. One can see as one moves about Germany that the full effects of the alteration are being acutely felt by all who find themselves unable to compete successfully with the "money-changers" who are in possession of the wreck of the Temple, that is, the counting-house. In other words it is everywhere apparent that the war has turned money into a commodity, just as industrialism turned the worker into a commodity. It has driven energy into exile. In Germany energy, the most precious thing on earth, is worthless because there is no worthless money to pay for it. Money is exalted where alone energy should be. Money is bought and sold for profit. Individuals and groups organise solely to trade in money. This is the predominating factor of demoralisation. It is the cause of the inconceivable economic paralysis that spreads from the Rhine to the Urals. There never was a time, in Germany or in any other civilised country, when this factor of demoralisation had such opportunities open to it as it has now. And there never was a time when its work of demoralisation was so complete. Go where you will and there you will find cities and towns that were once living, progressive and prosperous, now dead, diseased and dirt-ridden. Berlin resembles a spectre engaged in a wild and whirling Apache dance. In Vienna one sees a profiteering Salome dancing before the decapitated corpse of this unfortunate city. Men and women always seem to go about in crowds, always packed together like herrings, always hungry, always struggling and fighting for existence. Everywhere there is dishonesty. It is a plague and no one seems to have escaped the plague. Gamblers, smugglers, thieves, liars, cheats are, and have been for many months past replacing honest persons by hundreds of thousands daily in all departments of German life. Central Europe is a kingdom swarming with robbers. The change is remarkable even in the most rare directions. It is common for individuals who have a high sense of morality to obtain one or more of the five essentials of life, food, clothing, shelter, transport and recreation by illegitimate means simply because in face of the destroyed function of money and their own inability to provide another legitimate means of exchange they must either do so or go without. In short under the printing press system of exchange morality no longer exists, and the evil results are seen in political, economic, industrial and social chaos. This deplorable situation admits of but one conclusion, that civilisation is governed by a vicious element from which there is no escape except by the substitution of a means of exchange that cannot be treated as a commodity.

Germany is then in a condition of economic and industrial paralysis, dishonoured in the eyes of other nations, oppressed, disunited and ill-administered. Yet it is manifesting such a vitality in the pursuit of art, drama, poetry and literature that one may believe it will survive and recover from so desperate a condition. Of course all who belong to the New Germany, the New Republic as it is called, are anxious to make this recovery. And I think they desire that a creative spiritual factor shall be its central greatness, that the Will to Create shall replace the Will to Power. At any rate they strongly desire to renew the spiritual uplift of the pre-war civic development, as it is capable of being renewed. When the general movement went underground certain manifestations of it remained in a modified form at the surface—and these survive. The basis of the reform—the background of nature—with its new type of people and work-place found in the many and varied garden city and suburb, industrial communes and villa colonies—is there. Some of the undertakings, for instance Marienbrunn at Leipzig, are unfinished and waiting for building material. Others, like the industrial commune at Hellerau, near Dresden, raised to front rank as a working model of what an industrial commune should be by its idealist working-man director, Carl Schmidt, are incomplete, waiting for the communists whose arrival the war has delayed. And all are capable of infinite expansion when they pass wholly into possession of the multitude of communists bred by the Revolution. It is noteworthy that this multitude includes every variety of thinker and worker, many of whom, especially wealthy business men, have discovered a human regard for natural surroundings. It seems that war and privation have taught them the useful lesson that little gardens may be cultivated to confer the utmost economic benefits even on the wealthy among themselves who happen to be unable to obtain food except by first producing it. So one of the sights in Germany to-day is the respectful attention bestowed by the superior classes upon their little allotments and poultry farms. Formerly it was the fashion for them to regard such things with horror and even denounce them as ridiculous playthings for the lower working class. Now they in turn are cultivating the earth.

This is one back-to-the-land development, and there are many more both in Germany and stricken Austria. Another that may be mentioned here is the effort that is being made with the help of Government to establish soldiers' colonies. A great number of soldiers who have returned home and were formerly employed in cities and towns, no longer want to live under the old stifling conditions. The open-air life of military service has given them a very necessary taste of nature and natural occupations. Their

demand for an opportunity to continue the new life is being met, and they are being provided not only with comfortable houses and allotments, but art and craft schools as rapidly as possible. The facts and figures of this Kriegerheimstätten movement, and particulars of the new ideas in garden suburb house building, are contained in Bodenreformer books published by the aforesaid Herr Ludwig Degener, Leipzig. In the picture thus presented we see the restoration of the background of nature, the renewal of natural labour, and all classes, including the wealthiest and most superior, claiming the title of self-supplier. Perhaps there is an incipient regionalism to be found in this breaking up into nature and industrial communes. But it should be said that the separation is not meant to be permanent. The puzzle of social life is being broken up only that its pieces may be fitted together in, let us hope, some more beautiful and lasting design. So the new civic spirit would seem to point to the recovery of creative function as the only possible means of exchange, and the discovery of the miraculous power of primal energy in man. It appears to say that so far as the New Germany is concerned Mars is dead, Plutus is in course of being dethroned, Ceres is ennobled on account of her agricultural interests, and the intelligent citizen is the Lord of Creation. In short the Age of Prussianism has been replaced by the Age of Germanity.

HUNTLY CARTER.

Editorial Note. The above paper by Mr. Huntly Carter, is one of four papers giving impressions of the new Germany, presented at a meeting of the Society on October 26. It is hoped to find room for the other three papers in the next number of the *Review*.

OBITUARY NOTICE.

It is with great regret that we have to announce the death of Captain Osman Newland. Captain Newland was an active and valuable supporter of the Society (of which he was a Life Member) from its early days. As a Member of Council he always showed keen interest in all the Society's activities, and did much for its welfare. He was the author of several books on sociology and kindred subjects.

Mrs. Osman Newland has been good enough to place at the disposal of the Society her husband's valuable sociological library for selection therefrom of such books as the Society may care to have.

own territory solely for its own enrichment. So that while industrialism is becoming ever more universal, the international markets are becoming relatively more restricted.

The economic supremacy, first of 19th century England, then of Western Europe, was based on a monopoly of industrial skill and capital and on an unlimited supply of cheap raw material. Prairie farming—*i.e.*, the cheap and wasteful cultivation of great spaces of fertile virgin soil—rendered possible the cheap food supply, which in turn permitted low wages and cheap labour. But already this state of things is coming to an end. So rapid has been the process of development, so quickly has the increase of population answered the stimulus of the new conditions that extensive agriculture even before the war was becoming out of date. Even in the prairies of the Western states land was becoming sufficiently valuable to repay careful cultivation, and the price of corn and meat was rising steadily.

The vacant spaces of the earth are not yet filled, but they are already limited and the end of the process is in sight. The new world of five continents is becoming a closed and settled area like the old world of Southern Europe and S. Asia; and once again there begins the severe pressure of great nations on territory and food supply. The limitation of the future is not one of industrial skill and capital, but one of raw materials. As population advances, the price of raw materials must increase, while, owing to the growing perfection of organization and machinery, there is practically no limit to the reduction in costs of manufacture. In the long run the valuable capital will not be machinery or the labour which can work it, for these can be found everywhere, thanks to the spread of industrialism, but the produce of the soil, the amount of which is essentially limited. Thus there will be a tendency for agriculture to recover the place that it lost in the 19th century and to become once more the basis of national prosperity. The need for intensive cultivation will involve the concentration of more money, more labour and more thought on agriculture. The peasant, who was in 19th century England an unimportant and neglected member of society, will doubtless become influential, and will demand a larger share in the produce of his labour. No land will be poor enough to be neglected, or rich enough to be cultivated wastefully. The aim of the agriculture of the future will be the maximum produce rather than the maximum net profit, and every productive possibility will have to be developed to the full. This will involve the increase of the agricultural population in all the regions of the New and Old World where intensive cultivation is not already the rule, and points ultimately to the growth of a new territorial self-sufficiency. This process is already at work in the

LEPLAY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.

By DOROTHY HERBERTSON, B.A.

(Continued.)

Chapter III.

WANDER-YEAR.

"Afoot and light-hearted, I take to the open road."—Walt Whitman.

Leplay and Reynaud left Paris in the month of May, 1829. Their intention was to visit the mines, ironworks and forests of the districts between the Moselle, Meuse and Rhine, the North and Baltic Seas, and the mountains of the Erzgebirge, Thuringia and Hunsdruck. Their first duty, as travelling students of the School of Mines, was to make themselves thoroughly familiar with the mining districts of North Germany, and thus to complete their professional training. Their intention was to visit all such establishments connected with their profession as presented models to follow or dangers to avoid. To these they were to devote such time as might be required for the observation of all essential details and for drawing up such notes as would enable them to make a full and accurate report. In the second place, they were anxious to enter into relations as close as possible with the population of the districts visited in order to distinguish between social phenomena of merely local interest and those of a wider bearing. Finally, in each district they sought to become acquainted with the wisest and most experienced men in order to observe their practice and weigh their opinions of men and things. It was indeed an ambitious programme, and may well have made M. Becquey smile.

The journey was performed wholly on foot. Provided with a compass, and with no more luggage than sufficed for their simplest needs, they took the most direct route, by mountain, plain or forest as the case might be. The rest of their baggage, containing what they needed for their occasional intervals of city life and the ever-increasing pile of notes, was sent on to await them at the next place chosen for their headquarters. Thus they were singularly independent of the beaten track and were able to penetrate by routes otherwise inaccessible into out-of-the-way corners of the mining districts of North Germany.

Leplay was an ideal pedestrian. Though short, he was strongly built, and his muscles were of iron. He could eat anything, sleep anywhere and endure all weathers. At the end of a day of thirty or forty miles of hard walking he was still fresh and good-humoured and ready to make light of any discomfort. His sympathies were wide and generous, his manners pleasing, and wherever he went he made friends. Questions which would have seemed impertinent in a man of less tact gave no offence from him, and he readily obtained all the information he desired. If this appears exaggerated it should be remembered that he had been familiar from childhood with men of all classes and could talk intelligently to men of many different pursuits about their own work. His interest and skill in his own profession could be detected in everything he said, and his sincerity and frankness invited and won confidence. A man like this was not likely to be repulsed as an impertinent, inquisitive tourist.

The journey lasted seven months. During that time the two friends covered

more than 4,000 miles, walking the whole distance. The time was spent in halts for study near mines, works and other centres, or within reach of working-class families or persons of special knowledge; in excursions intended to complete such detailed studies by a general survey of the surrounding district; in geological excursions undertaken for the purpose of ascertaining the distribution of mineral wealth; in the general study of particular localities or in rapid surveys of wider areas. Reynard, as the senior student, undertook the general management of their very simple life. Nothing occurred to cloud their friendship, which only increased as they learned to know each other better. They found, however, that their programme was too wide. They saw that the social question was infinitely more complex than they had supposed, and decided to satisfy themselves with studying it instead of attempting to solve it. Their journey brought them into contact with institutions differing widely in character and yet apparently well suited to special conditions. Leplay was more than ever convinced that the true principles of social order were discovered long ago; Reynaud no less ardently clung to the belief that humanity was steadily progressing and that most changes were for the better. Neither convinced the other, and they returned more divided in opinion and more united in affection than ever.

If, however, they disagreed in the interpretation of the facts they were entirely at one as to the right method of investigation. They were convinced, as might have been expected from students trained in the rigorous scientific methods of the School of Mines, that the study of social science, like the study of every other science which aims at precision of data, must be based on observation. In this faith Leplay never wavered. "The conclusion to which I came," he writes, "was that this science, like those taught in the curriculum of our science schools, must be based, not on *a priori* conceptions, but on the methodical observations of facts and on the inductions of a rigorous logic. I began to seek the laws of social science in the knowledge of social facts." The material, he believed, was there if the observer knew how to use it. "Social science," he wrote, "can be based on surer foundations than history, for all the ages of the social world are actually alive for us at the present time." This, however, was later, after his eventful life had brought him into contact with a certain society which had changed nothing since the days of Abraham.

His journey to the Hartz and the Saxon plain, therefore, did three things for him. In the first place, it confirmed his attachment to his profession and assured him that his choice had been a wise one. In the second place, it convinced him that in social science, as in the biological and physical sciences, observation and induction are to be preferred to deductions from *a priori* theories. In the third place, it taught him how to travel, and thus put into his hands a powerful method of research. "Travel," he writes, "is to the science of societies what chemical analysis is to mineralogy, what field work is to botany, or, in general terms, what the observation of facts is to all the natural sciences."

The eventful journey came to an end in November, 1829, and early in December Leplay was back again in Paris.

Chapter IV.

PROFESSIONAL LIFE.

"A force de forger on devient forgeron."—French Proverb.

Leplay's return from Germany marked the transition from youth to manhood. He had started with the adventurous spirit of youth, he returned with the settled purpose of manhood. "My journey," he wrote, "deepened my attachment to my chosen profession and convinced me that I could render myself useful to my country

therein. Without losing sight of my social studies, which formed my favourite recreation, I devoted myself with increasing ardour to engineering."

The remainder of his life was divided in unequal proportions between the two lines of study. During the next twenty years he was a metallurgist first and a sociologist second, but circumstances ultimately led him to renounce metallurgy and devote himself wholly to social science.

Leplay returned to Paris in December, 1829, with brilliant prospects of a brilliant career. At the outset, however, an accident occurred which for a time appeared likely to end it altogether. Early in 1830 he was experimenting with one of the potassium compounds in the laboratory of the School of Mines when it exploded, inflicting frightful wounds on his hands and arms. The detonation and his cries for help brought in some students, who tore off his burning clothes, extinguished the flames and improvised a bed. For a long time the wounds refused to yield to treatment, but at length, under the care of Dupuytren, the most celebrated surgeon of his day, Leplay recovered his health. His hands were disfigured for life, but fortunately they retained all their delicacy of manipulation.

The eighteen months which followed this accident were, to use his own phrase, a period of physical and moral torture. The Revolution of 1830 broke out shortly after, and scenes of bloodshed and violence ensued. Leplay's only contact with the outer world was through the students and friends who came to sit by his sick bed. From them he learned of industrial confusion, and class hatred, and of the horrors of actual carnage. Through long sleepless nights of pain he brooded on these things, finding consolation only in the thought of the peaceful, prosperous communities of the Saxon plain among whom he had spent the preceding summer. A decisive resolution gradually took shape in his mind. "This bitter apprenticeship to suffering," he wrote long after, "and this enforced meditation seems to me now to have been one of the decisive events of my life. Then it was that I solemnly resolved, so far as in me lay, to find a remedy for the ills which afflicted my country. I took a vow to devote six months of every year to travel, for the purpose of studying metallurgy and of continuing at the same time my study of families and societies. I have been faithful to my vow."

As soon as his health was sufficiently restored Leplay set to work to complete his report of his German tour. The excellence of the form and the value of the material embodied in it made it a model for succeeding students and increased the favour with which Leplay was viewed at headquarters. He was appointed to the charge of the laboratory of the School of Mines, under M. Berthier, and made joint editor of the *Annales des Mines* in collaboration with M. Dufrenoy. The relations between M. Berthier and his brilliant young colleague were not very cordial, and both were glad when the arrangement came to an end.

Freed from the charge of the laboratory, Leplay was now at liberty to devote his whole time and attention to the *Annales des Mines*, which had been started as the *Journal des Mines* in 1794. It had early fallen off, and its publication was discontinued in 1831. A new series, the third, was begun in 1832, and, thanks to the energy and talent which Leplay brought to work, it soon proved a great advance on its predecessors. It was better written and better illustrated, and special attention was devoted to the progress of mining science in other countries. It contained summaries of the most important contributions to British and other foreign technical journals, and every endeavour was made to keep pace with the advance of mining science in every part of Europe. Leplay continued his connection with the *Annales* till 1840, when he was appointed to the chair of Metallurgy at the School of Mines.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1919—1920.

DURING the year 1919-20 the Society's work was necessarily much restricted as a result of the war. It was further handicapped by a serious lack of office accommodation (as well as difficulties in procuring a room for business meetings) owing to the overcrowded state of the School of Economics, where the Society was then housed. In addition, the Secretary, Miss Keyser, was obliged to resign the Secretaryship through ill-health at the end of 1918. At her suggestion Miss Huddleston (a senior student at the School) temporarily carried on the secretarial work, but the arrangement was necessarily unsatisfactory, and the affairs of the Society went into a certain confusion until the appointment of Mrs. Fraser Davies, the present Secretary, in May 1919.

It became apparent that if the work of the Society was to be carried on satisfactorily it was necessary to have larger and more convenient quarters, in which lectures, meetings, etc., could be held, with sufficient space for office work, and where also the Society's library (which was dispersed amongst the books of the School of Economics) could be housed together once more, for the benefit of members. Through the generosity of two members of the Council the lease of Leplay House was purchased for the Society, and it moved there from the London School of Economics in March of this year.

In spite of the difficulties just mentioned, the Society held two courses of lectures in 1919 at 11, Tavistock Square. In the Summer Term lectures were given by:—

Mrs. Nugent Harris ("Women's Institutes and the Part they are playing in Rural Life").

Prof. Maurice Parmelee ("Recent Advances in the Psychology of Behaviour").

Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe ("Notes on America at War").

Mr. A. Farquharson ("Suggestions for the Advancement of Sociology").

During the Winter Term lectures were given by:—

Mr. H. J. Peake ("Provinces of England").

A paper was read "On the Training of the Regular British Officer."

Mr. Huntly Carter ("The Re-building of the French Battle Zone").

Miss Defries ("Art and the City").

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held on July 2, 1919. Mr. J. A. Hobson resigned from the Chairmanship of the Council in view of his absence from England for some time and Mr. Victor Branford was elected in his stead. The existing members of the Council were re-elected.

During 1919 only two numbers of the *Review* could be published owing to the high cost of production. Two numbers will be published during 1920, but the quarterly issue will be resumed in 1921, a separate fund having been raised for this purpose. The Society was fortunate in securing the services of Mr. Lewis Mumford, late Associate Editor of the *Dial* (New York), as Acting Editor of the *Review* during the summer term.

Although the period covered by the year's Report ends in December 1919, a few words may be said as to the recent activities of the Society since its removal to Leplay House. The first meeting was held on March 23, when Dr. Marcel Hardy read a paper on "Suggestions towards a National Policy in Agriculture."

The Summer Term's meeting included papers by Dr. Saleeby ("The Smoke Cure and Our New Homes"), by Mr. John Ross and Mrs. V. Branford ("Social Finance"), and a Symposium on "The War-Mind."

The formal opening of Leplay House took place on June 29, when two meetings were held, one in the afternoon and one in the evening. Both meetings were well attended. Mr. Branford gave an address on "The Main Traditions of Sociology." It will be printed in the next number of the *Review*. An excellent summary of the address appears in the current number of *Science Progress*.

The membership of the Society has increased considerably since the beginning of 1919, and since the removal of the Society to Leplay House this increase has been very marked. Since 1919, twenty-nine new individual members have been elected, and five institutional members.

At a meeting of the Council held on January 29, 1920, it was decided to admit Associates to the Society at an annual subscription of 5/-. Such a subscription does not entitle Associates to receive the *Review*, nor have they the right of voting at meetings. Ten Associates have joined the Society since this rule came into force.

For six months the Society was fortunate enough to have the services of Mr. W. Mann as Organising Secretary. It was with regret that the Society received his resignation in June on his appointment to the International Reparations Commission in Berlin as assistant to Dr. Marcel Hardy, who was selected to organize the Agricultural Section of the Commission.

The Council of the Society look forward to a period of useful and active work during the coming autumn and winter. To carry this work out successfully, however, a further increase in membership and funds is necessary in order that the Society may be able adequately to meet the heavy expenses which are unavoidable at the present time owing to the high cost of all printing, publication, etc. The Council feels that it would be a disaster if the work and activities of the Society were to be restricted by lack of funds at a time when the public demand for sociological teaching is more general than ever before and aid is expected from the Society towards solving the special problems of the present critical period.

The Council therefore appeals for a still further increase in membership and support in order that this work may be carried on adequately.

THE WAR-MIND, THE BUSINESS-MIND AND A THIRD ALTERNATIVE.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.¹

IN the study of what has been popularly called "war-mind" we seek to observe facts and still more we try to discover situations in which impulse and expression are both discernible. What, to begin with, it may be asked, are the types of emotional and intellectual reaction manifested in a society absorbed by the anxieties, efforts, hopes, fears of an internecine struggle for existence? In short, the primary problem may be stated as the psychology of marginal survival. In so far as characteristic traits, generated in a society thrown for a moment sheer on to the margin of survival, get fixed as mental habits, presumably "the war-mind" develops. Subsequent persistence, modification or loss of these mental habits in after-war time, have also to be investigated.

Important doubtless, both as to impulses and habits, is the distinction between combatants and non-combatants; and, further, between the more or less loose coherence of non-combatant groups on the one hand, and on the other the intimate incorporation of combatants into organized bodies (*i.e.* companies, regiments and armies), of long-established tradition and definite orientation towards the tasks, risks, opportunities of war.

It is to be remarked that some observers of "the war-mind" (notably *e.g.* Romain Rolland in his book, *Likuli*) emphasize its defects as the most impulsive of illusions; while others have discovered in its qualities the basis of a transcendent coming-together of all classes in a "sacred union." Hence two schools of thought tend to appear. One of them observes and analyses the reversions to barbarism and savagery through recrudescence of the animalism of "herd instincts," and through perversion of the moral sentiments by habitual recourse to violence, theft, lying, deceit, chicane. The other school emphasizes the traits which evoke co-operant enthusiasm, heroism, self-sacrifice and the energizing of groups or individuals to higher potential than is customary in ordinary times of peace. The former school, in a word, sees war as degrading and repressing life; the latter sees it as enhancing life and raising its voltage by introducing on a grand scale certain elements of psychic arousal which in ordinary situations (social, economic and political) are inconspicuous, absent or latent.

To the first school the war-mind is passive in the grip of circumstances that inhibit the higher manifestations of human life or pervert them, simultaneously re-awakening and stimulating the lower manifestations. To the second school the war-mind is active and effervescent in response to opportunities afforded by those dramatic manifestations of life which evoke its high latencies. Given this scope for creative effort (argues this school), the mind is not only released from customary inhibitions and habits of routine; but further impassioned to high purpose and demiurgic activity.

1. The larger part of the Introductory Note is extracted from the circular letter which invited contributions to a Symposium on the War-Mind. The letter was printed in the *REVIEW* for Autumn, 1919. The replies were read and discussed at a meeting of the Society during the summer of 1920. Space prevents their publication in the *REVIEW*. But they can be seen in typescript in the Library of the Sociological Society at Leplay House; along with a small collection of illustrative material.

May not both schools find common ground in searching out and studying situations of peace-time which call for the elements of the war-mind, both as to qualities and defects? Obvious instances of both are not far to seek. If lifeboat rescue and fire brigade salvage be counted as episodal examples, yet may not the ordinary combating of disease by doctors and nurses, and of moral evils by priests and reformers be reckoned as illustrations which are in the run of custom? Is not the boy scout movement an endeavour to devise an education which combines and normalises into abiding habit, both the heroism of courage and the altruism of conscience? And if so, how far may the prodigious growth of this movement and its admitted successes be cited in evidence by the meliorist interpreters of the war-mind?

Again, take the defects of the war-mind as exemplified in peace-time. Are not these defects copiously illustrated in the records of crime and vice, the chronicles of folly, the accounts of insanity, and, above all, in the accumulating data of Freudian analysis? And if all such reversions and perversions be exceptional in fact, are they not, from the very nature of the case, symptomatic of the communities in which they germinate? Whatever else these evils be, are they not the flotsam and jetsam of communities embarked on a sea that is in process of being more thoroughly charted? The course of such communities being mapped, do we not see them, since the Industrial Revolution, committed whole-heartedly to a *régime* of competitive industry, and, since the Renaissance, given unreservedly to emulative social practice, in short to a kind of war.

For deeper truths the burden is on the shoulders of Sociology in so far as true that mind is a social phenomenon. Has not the central movement amongst psychologists themselves long been running in this direction? Do not their advanced workers find themselves to-day well within the sociological field? Their most recent school describes and explains mind in terms of "collective representations." But that, it may be said, is a way of speaking which raises more questions than it answers. Doubtless; but may not the chief use of introducing phrasing that is specifically social be its implicit invitation to a wider co-operation in the investigation and research of mental problems. Does it not help, for instance, to bring into the discussion much needed aid from the resources of literature and religion hitherto so little tapped for modern science? Is it not indeed the fact that the practitioners of literature, poetry, drama are the real and essential vitalists of the psychological and social field? While, as for the theologians, does not their ancient formulation about the individual mind as an emanation of the divine mind bear a certain genetic resemblance to the "collective representations" of the newest social-psychologists?

If the above assumptions are verifiable, then how far may we draw certain deductions? First, that the war-mind exhibits with the vivid outline of a diagrammatic object lesson, the tendencies and habits of the modern mind as it works in current western civilization. Second, that such a mind displays a twofold mode of interaction with its milieu; now passively recipient to environment and tradition, now impelled to mastery by the springs of vision. Is it not this tendency to an alternating sequence of negative and positive phases (as it were, the night and day of our inner world) which supplies the vital data of literature and religion? Do not the practitioners of these arts and disciplines of life see such mental phases crystallizing into habits, which in turn dissolve in a ferment of change and again recrystallize into new habits?

For that cycle of periodic movement, a phrasing is needed in correspondence with the terminology of current psychology. May we not follow the practice, growing since the days of Hume, of describing the working of the mind in terms of habit; and declare that the normal tendency of the mind is towards "Habituation,

Dehabitation, Rehabilitation? Yet, for the psychologist to say that, is little more than to affirm that the mind ties, unties, and reties knots in the reins of life. It tells us nothing intimate about the rider and his steed, and their origin and destination.

Yet this at any rate may be affirmed, that in studying the social process by means of "collective representations" no great difficulty need be experienced in discriminating between the objective and subjective aspects of a situation. And that is all to the good in a field where confusion between objective and subjective is a common error, leading to premature abstractions and then the mistaking of these for concrete reality. That is a danger into which the student may the more easily fall in using phrases like the war-mind, the social-mind, the group-mind, since these carry the burden of a highly abstract tradition. They are lineal descendants of still more abstract conceptions such as "the collective will" which survive in the books of political philosophy. Without letting go anything useful to be gleaned in this field, we may yet ask whether a more hopeful approach does not lie through the school of "collective representations." That phrase will, to many, sound little attractive and still less hopeful of objective result. But in this paper we propose to give it a trial.

I.—THE WAR-MIND.

For a convenient point of origin and departure of the war-mind let us select the "collective representations" of a music-hall 'poster'¹ that spoke to us from the hoardings for a whole year or more during the war (1). It exhibited a scantily-draped young woman suddenly released as a Jack-in-the-box and demonstrating her liberation from captivity by kicking at large. For this sort of thing, the word "exhalation" (rising from our social milieu like fetid air from bog and swamp) might be preferred by those who dislike the phrase "collective representations"! However that may be, it is a fact that a theatrical poster offers a sample of goods known by trade experience to be attractive to the pleasure-seeking public. This specimen then, like others, has to be interpreted as a symbol of deep-seated tendencies in the public mind. What tendencies? Well, suppose the kicking elf to be herself the very spirit of revolt against the repressions imposed on human life by the dreariness, ugliness, inhibitions of the Industrial Age. To whole masses of the people existing uneasily under that drab dispensation the war came as the opening of its door to a caged animal. Repressed instincts of life and curbed energies of purpose found vent in many strange gestures of suddenly released vitality. They took form now in a cult of naughtiness and rebellion; again in dignified, heroic service. Remarkable transformations resulted. The frowsy flower-girl of Piccadilly Circus gave place, for instance, to the bright daughter of Demeter depicted in that poster which announced a French 'flag-day' in London in 1917 (2). Again,

1. For list of these posters and pictures see Appendix to this paper. The numbers in the text refer to corresponding numbers in the Appendix list. The whole set of posters and pictures have been put together in a portfolio of moderate size which can be borrowed for temporary use by study-groups and discussion circles.

note how Hodge and his conjugal drudge were transmuted into the hero-in-khaki and the neo-matriarch, as a recruiting poster for the land-girl army truly set forth (3). But all these and others awakened to high ministry by the call of war, needed also their hours of relaxation. And so, a poster of the Underground Railway reminds us that the pleasure-booths of Vanity Fair were crowded as never before (4). How otherwise indeed, than by following the leisure-class habits of the Victorian Peace could be expended the high wages and the excess profits of that Titanic manufacture and discharge of munitions which proved to be an amazingly lucrative national industry?

Observe next the æsthetic reactions of the war-mind. In general you see that the Art modes of the Industrial Age were repeated and continued, but in intensified and exaggerated ways. As before, the bulk of art patrons preferred the more sentimental forms; but during the war these patrons became legion in number. Witness the story-magazines and books of cheap fiction whose pictorial covers made the bookstalls into a blaze of amatory romance (4a). Amongst posters doubtless not the least successful in extracting war-savings was the triplet of chubby faces, excellently reproduced from a popular Italian painting (5). From the art of the sentimental you may pass to the Baby-week poster of vulgar inanities (6), or of crude symbolism (7); or you may descend to those early recruiting posters which called upon youths "to be in at the final," or bade young women to despatch to the front "their best boy." Or again you may ascend to the great art exhibited on the hoardings in tens of thousands in the admirably executed Whistler's "Portrait of his Mother" (8). The popularisation of this masterpiece first as a poster and next as a cheap reproduction (which happily omitted the impertinent phrase added to the poster) was surely an evidence that war intensifies at least some of the higher no less than the lower potencies of the mind. It is not difficult to discover other examples of "collective representation" which expressed this revealing and exalting quality of War. The "Soldiers' and Sailors' Map of London" is perhaps as remarkable a specimen as any (9). Where else will you find so clear, vivid, simple and withal beautifully executed a presentation of essentials extracted from the foggy labyrinth of the metropolis and put together again to form a map which is also a picture? And forget not that this feat of combined art and science was thought out and wrought under no impulse of opulent patronage but in the service of the common-folk turned soldiers and sailors.

How now sum up this analysis of the war-mind as disclosed in our selection of pictorial presentations and representations? War we observe awakens the spirit and intensifies existence, so that

people act with less restraint in response both to lower and higher impulses. For evil and for good, war suspends alike the Freudian censorship and the Philistine code of inhibitions. Liberated by war, the human psyche makes a flight, in which pre-war habits and dispositions rise to their natural zenith or fall to their proper nadir. By this revealing quality war exposes with merciless clarity, and shows with diagrammatic precision, just what was the character of the preceding age, its type of civilization, its real nature and latent purpose, its qualities and defects. The competitive society of the Industrial Age came to its full flowering in the world war. Two generations almost to a day after Queen Victoria had performed an opening ritual for the National Palace of Industrial Arts, that was to be also an International Temple of Peace, her grandson dedicated the very same edifice to the show-cases of the Military Arts and the symbols of International Rivalry (9a). The Crystal Palace, being now transformed into a War Museum, has thus become a comprehensive monument of the Industrial Age because so fully symbolizing its spirit.

II.—THE AFTER-WAR MIND TOWARDS "BUSINESS AS USUAL."

If then the war-mind be but the logical issue of the pre-war mind, what of the after-war mind? For answer let us again apply the objective method and try to interpret the meaning and purport of some pictorial samples of current "collective representations." Advertisements of goods for sale remind us that the strong arm of labour returns, after the war, to its work in the forges and factories, the fields and the mines (10). The muscles perhaps are a trifle weary and the nerves a little shaken after the efforts and excitements of battle. Somewhat less than habitual, therefore, is the labourers' response to the call of the "directing classes" for greater output. Now these latter happen to be also the "leisure classes." And how they have returned with added zest to their customary assiduity in the "performance of leisure" we have ample evidence from the illustrated papers as well as from posters and advertisements (11).

Of that social couple known to sociologists as the "People and the Chiefs of the Temporal Power" we thus see the former returning with some reluctance to pre-war ways and the latter with eagerness. Examine now the other elements of this social situation. The corresponding pair of the congruent "Spiritual Power" have their sociological titles in the somewhat ambiguous words "Intellectuals" and "Emotionals." Of the former, many as in pre-war days meditate in well-upholstered armchairs (12); and amongst the latter not a few contrive to seek "life abundant" by frolicking with Pan (13). The inference would appear to be that the post-war mind, like a dog returning to its vomit, resumes the

He possessed control neither over his work nor its fruit, but, remained a human tool in the hands of the *entrepreneur* and the middleman. This state of things was felt instinctively by the worker and held consciously by the reformer to be unnatural in that it meant the subordination of the higher to the lower.

If we look on the present labour movement simply from the point of view of Class War, the prospect is hopeless enough. The victory of capitalism and the reign of blind repression, or the triumph of anarchy and confiscation, or the alternate dominance of either tendency, would each be equally possible and equally disastrous.

But the modern revolt of the worker is not simply a case of the struggle between the "Haves" and the "Have Nots," the Rich and the Poor; it is rather an attempt to reverse the subordination of the human to the mechanical and the creative to the commercial function; and however stormy may be the period of change, we may be sure that a permanent social order can only be attained by the recognition of the human end and the reorganization of the economic process on that basis.

The ideal of the new order will (let us assume) be the substitution of co-operation for competition. Avoiding the sacrifice and exploitation of men, or the waste of natural resources, in the race for wealth, the economic organization will be directed towards the all-round development of the resources of the society. The tendency of the industrial age was to consider reward rather than work, to judge everything in terms of money. Men worked in order to get rich, and the state of being rich was an absolute end which need not serve any other social purpose—a kind of Nirvana. In this, as in other things, that age subordinated the human to the material.

On the other hand in the Middle Ages, and in many other periods of a more stable social order, social status was inseparable from function. The knight's land and the merchant's money existed like the endowments of the abbéys and colleges, in order to enable them to fulfil their office. A man who had great wealth and no function was an anomaly, and so also to a lesser degree was the man who had a function and no means with which to fulfil it.

Will not the new age be marked by a return to these principles? A man's position will be determined by his function rather than by his possessions, and wealth will be subordinate and instrumental to work. Thus capital will be regarded not as an abstract entity but as so much apparatus, and unless State socialism should succeed in nationalizing the means of production, the apparatus would normally be owned by the men who use it, while the higher

habits which were modified and in some cases abandoned or even reversed under the stress of danger. But recurrence to pre-war habits is made impossible for many by the sequel of misfortune. In the ruined areas, for instance, men and still more, perhaps, women continue to wander in the Hades of war's devastation (13a). Against this winter of desolation, which threatened all the belligerent nations while the fighting lasted, there is a natural rebound amongst all classes into the gaieties of "Summer in Arcady" (13b). Released from fear, life calls for personal adornments; and so the mills of Lancashire boom, through demand for variety of woman's garments if not for their individual abundance. A prodigious pictorial advertisement of the daily press, doubtless with an eye to finance, proclaims the industrial vigour of Lancashire by a soot pall whose density suggests continuous working shifts throughout the twenty-four hours. This advertisement proudly bore the title, "Master Creations of Cotton Land" (13c). The makers and the salesmen, and still more the financiers of these and other "master creations," crowd the pleasure resorts at home and abroad (13d). They, with their women-folk, constitute a host of new converts to the eighteenth century doctrine that war is good for trade.

Is more subtle evidence needed of the swing back to 1914 and moreover along a larger arc? If so, observe the thoughts and the doings of the ladies of Paris, for what these leaders of fashion think and do to-day the women of the world at large are apt to think and do to-morrow. Nowhere perhaps is there a more influential source of "collective representations" than the ateliers of French modistes. Regard then a picture from that journal which it is said more than all others captivated the minds of English officers in our armies on the continent (14). You see two ladies of 1920 loaded with the trophies, in fur and feather, of the hunter's squaw. Poised uncertainly on the highest of heels in the tiniest of shoes, they stand before an exhibition case in the Museum of Historic Costumes contemplating the vagaries of fashion in times past; says the lady of 1920: "How silly, to bedizen one's self in that sort of way"! to which remark the manikins in their cases, stirred from their slumbers of centuries by the quaint spectacle of the two living dolls, reply "How true, indeed."

The crop of English versions of *La Vie Parisienne* which repeat the dubious innuendos of the original without its satire, is perhaps to be interpreted not only as manifesting the follies of the post-war mind, but also its instinctive search for a more vital way of life than that of the Victorian Peace (14a). Filled again are the old avenues of escape from the outer dreariness of industrial towns and the inner repressions of their educations, philosophies, religions. And, since the war, more eager than ever the quest of what is imagined

to be life abundant. More crowded are the racecourses, football grounds, boxing rings, golf courses, more in vogue the chambers of the mystery-mongers and the dancing saloons, busier the stock-brokers and turf accountants, more audacious the cult of the fleshly. But it is only yesterday that Death lurked at every corner, so escape has imparted to well nigh everyone something of the zest of youth for life's sweet fruits, yet with a lingering taste of the bitter (14b).

A community emerging from war enjoys the stimulus of release from fear. But it also suffers the loss of moral momentum given by a common end uniting the whole nation. Under that deprivation, groups and individuals lapse into the pre-war state of loose ends and cross purposes that accompany the individual struggle for existence. And though "Imperial policy" be more potent than ever, so also is its antagonist and complement, proletarian socialism. And in any event both these ends even at their strongest are to war but as burnt thread to steel wire for general binding power. Thus the return of peace opens the floodgates of reversions and even perversions. Is it too much to say that in the two years following the war we have witnessed a renewal of the old scramble for gain, but inflamed by post-war extravagance; the old commerce of sordid impulse but coarsened by war's brutalities; the old politics of chicane but emboldened by war's frauds and falsities? Previously there was a host of movements organised and spontaneous, directed to the replacing of these lower separatisms by higher unisons. What has become of these meliorist endeavours? Some have failed to survive the war; yet others have been strengthened and new ones are emerging. Over against English imitations of *La Vie Parisienne* we may place the new journals devoted to the making and adornment of Homes (15). Over against the advertisement of Cotton-Land's master creations put the announcement of the exhibition called "Beautiful Richmond, Past, Present and Possible"; for this was but a sample and manifesting of forces fermenting everywhere (15a). It was an endeavour, very largely by women, to maintain the moral awakening of the war and direct it to the common end of civic ennoblement and local betterment. The makers of this "Beautiful Richmond" Exhibition launched a campaign for introducing into the mind of the local community a well-planned set of "collective representations" of a very different kind from those of the post-war business mind. They offered for civic application not the ambitions of the hunter and the cravings of his squaw, but the modes and ideals of town-planner, gardener and housewife, in all of whom the sociologist discovers something of the soil-rooted peasant. Yet the Exhibition itself was but a display of resources and a rehearsal of groupings in that sequence of larger and smaller moves which soldiers call

strategy and tactics. The general objective might be defined as a Civic Economy based on the traditional domestic economy of order and beauty. And similar campaigns being actual or incipient in many places, does there not come into view a national end or common objective of high intensity which as it grows conscious of its purpose may acquire the character of a moral equivalent of war? Here then are efforts, however modest and sporadic, to replace the abstractions of political economy by the realities of civic economy, and to substitute for the politics of centralised power a comity of militant city-regions. Yet it would obviously be rash to assume the conscious beginning of an ordered march towards a polity charged with the qualities of war but free of its defects. The current spectacle of public life even suggests something more resembling a gaderene flight in the opposite direction. Openly in the places of business, obscurely behind the scenes of politics, vividly in the pages of "Punch," may be seen the Profiteer, swollen and exalted by the gains of war (16). With his accumulators refilled and his voltage raised in potential he is engaged (through the press and other vendible sources of "collective representations") in charging the batteries, if not of the war-mind, yet of the war-ward mind. Between this master of cunning and his sworn foe the Bolshevik (taking the latter as his critics see him) gloomy indeed would seem to be the prospect of the western world (16).

III.—A THIRD ALTERNATIVE.

It is announced (July, 1920) by the Carpenters' Union that over 50,000 of their men are engaged on aerodromes, cinemas, hotels, factories, garages, banks, castles and great shops—most of the latter doubtless for display and sale of sex adornments. Upon the simultaneous building of workmen's houses and all other construction the number of carpenters at work is declared to be something less than 10,000. Now, counting as within the cult of Business and Super-business, not only those who have arrived, but also those on the way, and the timid who fear to start, it is probably fair to reckon the power of this Great Interest, as against all minor ones (*i.e.* religion, art, literature, science, education, domestic economy) at the ratio gauged by the carpenters, *i.e.* of 5 to 1. On the other side of the balance the thunders of political socialism and the wails of socialistic bureaucracy are loud but light in weight. Yet on closer inspection cannot there be found a Third Alternative to Super-business and Socialism?

Where then must we look for more hopeful initiatives? Search has to be made not only amongst the tender shoots of new cultures, but also through the dried seeds of old faiths and even their

decomposing fruits; for let us remember alike the possibilities of rejuvenescence and the prospects of cross-fertilization. Amidst all this fermentation of after-war minds, surely there are discoverable at least the beginnings of a social order capable of amending to finer proportions the present rating of Business as against the Housing of the People, combined with the totality of moral, mental and æsthetic interests. But in this paper, exploration must needs be limited, and though partisanship be avoided, yet partiality is less easily escaped.

Think for instance of the profiteer's children. Conceive the sort of "collective representations" which, during the coming generation, will go to the making of *their* minds. How many of these children, but for the war, would have grown up in the purlieus of Whitechapel! Thanks, however, to the cunning with which their fathers handled the world crisis, they reside to-day, not unlikely, in a spacious mansion overlooking Hampstead Heath. Now the posters of the Hampstead Tube show us vividly what it means for children to taste the joys of life under a canopy of blue sky, amid the heath, bracken and pines of wild nature (17). True the well-devised curricula of schools and colleges endowed by former profiteers and financiers, or supported by present ones, will do their best to correct childhood's early impressions of blue heaven and wild nature. In order to clean the slate of childhood's mind for the right kind of "collective representations" do not the schools keep their pupils caged and imprisoned during the long days of summer, and release them only during the waning days of an oncoming autumn? Into the chambers of the child-mind thus swept if not garnished, the industrious schoolmaster introduces the worn furniture of archaic learning, thus making ready for the ghostly visitors who convey "literature and history" to the adult mind (17a). But the dessicating practises of the higher educational institutions are now, since the war, and in the light thereof, being challenged even by trading corporations, supposed to be without soul. The Managers of the Great Western Railway, for instance, speaking from the hoardings, recall to us the eternal verity that the glorious days of June are the occasion provided by nature for filling our minds with the splendour and the pageantry of sea and sky (18).

Think next of the press, itself not the least, perhaps even the most powerful, of all the batteries that charge our minds with collective representations. A French phrase pays half ironic homage to the great dailies which are the chief guides of our inner life, denominating them the "Grand Press." Their mode of working is alternatively that of the electrician and the gardener. In the former rôle they stir us now with the mild thrills of an intermittent current, again by the terrific shocks of high voltage. In

the gentle rôle of the gardener they implant daily in our minds the choice seeds of suggestion. In subtle ways do they not hint that all will go well with the world if only we re-enthroned those gods of the Manchester Pantheon, Demand and Supply? But is it not to be read in the current working of the post-war mind as manifested in the daily price lists of necessities that these gods too easily change into the demons of profiteering and chicanery? But even the "grand press" is open to suggestions of a better way of life, if not in its news pages and its leading articles, yet in its advertising columns. And so, by the picture and argument of advertisement, are conveyed to us the collective representations of a small group of tender women appealing for succour to the children of devastated or impoverished lands (19).

A similar contest for the fashioning of post-war minds proceeds on all sides. In further evidence note that against the Goliath of the Illustrated Press directing the skilled artistry of *Vanity Fair* (20, 21) in an endeavour to make us forget the dead, is pitted the David of the League of Nations Union, using the hoardings to recall to us the message of fallen heroes (22).

IV.—THE REAWAKENING OF THE MODERN MIND.

From a modest collection of posters and pictures, chosen almost at random and therefore all the more significant as evidence of prevailing sentiments and ideas, we have deciphered some of the formative elements of the war-mind and the after-war mind. Amongst the factors that go to the composing of our inner life and so to the determining of conduct and the directing of action in these times, we have discerned some half-dozen major sources of collective representation. They are the memory of the dead, the tenderness of woman, the joy of children, the cunning of man, and behind, above and below these human impulses, the cosmic forces inherent in the pageantry of nature and the wonder of the world. But are not these the very things which in the long evolution of man have, more than aught else, gone to the making of mind itself? That is assumed as a fair epitome of what science has to say about the genesis of mind. The resulting thesis is twofold. First that through the experience of war, its horrors and heroisms, its sufferings and illuminations, its sacrifices and inventions, our minds have been awakened as perhaps never since the dawn of the Renaissance. And next, given this arousal to the issues of life and death, given this awakening to the human significance of nature, given the existing resources of knowledge and their practical applications, a certain conclusion follows. It follows that the natural and the human factors that have made our minds in the past will in the

coming generation continue their work, for good and ill, with an acceleration of speed, an augmented energy, an intensified awareness of purpose.

It was natural, if not inevitable, that the tension of the war should be followed in immediate sequel by a phase of relaxing and reaction in mind, body and soul with return to pre-war habits, or worse. This reactionary phase, with all its reversions and perversions, no doubt may persist as the dominant mood throughout the coming half generation or longer. Its upshot to the detached spectator of these times may seem more suggestive of a new "thirty-years' war" than the dawning renaissance of a creative era. But on the evidence of our analysis, may it not be affirmed that all the time there will be gathering from the deeps a great tide of awakened life? In the cemeteries of the battle zones lie the tokens of a vicarious sacrifice beyond the imagining of priestly ritual (23). From the multitude of pilgrims who will visit these shrines some will return impassioned by the sense and meaning of this sacrament. Under this religious impulse what will the returning pilgrims do? In the forms of conduct they adopt, the lines of action they pursue, will come to fruition the collective representations that have gone to the fashioning of their minds in the past and those that energise their heart in the present. Formidable no doubt are the suggestions of evil and the impulses to indifference, yet for some at least of the returning pilgrims, the imagination will be fired by words which should have been graven on the monument of Nurse Cavell (24). Her dying message surely expresses something of what prompted to voluntary war service the multitudes of our common-folk stirred to heroism by the German invasion of Belgium in 1914: "Patriotism is not enough."

Those youths of the people who in the autumn of 1914 sprang to the rescue of a distressed Nation were touched with an awakening of the soul which is akin to genius. And is it not supremely on such arousals of dormant personality that the progress of the world depends? The contention then is that, reversions and perversions notwithstanding, there have been brought into existence by the war the pre-requisites for an exceptional florescence of genius. Have not immense latencies of mind amongst the common-folk been brought nearer to realization? To millions formerly untravelled and unobservant have been revealed the evocatory powers of nature; untold opportunities have opened to the contrivances of man's cunning; unprecedented occasions have arisen for the public exercise of woman's tenderness; incredibly dramatic contrasts in the joy and suffering of children have emerged; and through all these strands in the warp of our mental fabric, the hand of the dead is busy as perhaps never before in throwing the shuttle of memory.

V.—FROM WARDOM TO PEACEDOM.

Whatever be the pattern that is weaving on the loom of time, will not the consciousness of design, the intention of workmanship and the resolve of execution become increasingly pervasive in doing battle throughout the community with the regiments of reaction? Nevertheless it would be a profound error to affirm a clear-cut line between "Reaction" and "Progress." Sheer may seem the division between vociferating partisans of both sides; deep the cleavage between "Bolshies" and "Birkies"¹—if the latter title may be pardoned in punning allusion to their eighteenth century ancestor who championed the English reaction against the Revolutionary Movement of those times. But progress and reaction are terms ill to define. The soldiers for the most part range themselves in the camp of "reaction." Yet the warrior tradition has its high qualities; the soldier sees clearly a definite goal to be reached by mastery of resources in detail and in mass; he is animated by a vision of unity in which one is for all, and all for one; his appeal is to honour and self-sacrifice with their exaltation of spirit. Peril the soldier seeks instead of shunning and so wins the steadfast courage that comes from persistent look into the "bright eyes of danger." The Victorian Peace, because it boasted of "progress" and yet was lamentably deficient in all these imperative needs of the soul, failed to survive.

Surely it is not beyond the wit of man to imagine, plan and create a peace that corrects its own defects by the qualities of war. The Victorian Peace, being but latent war, went far in combining the defects of both. Its competitive commerce, social emulations, political contests, religious rivalries, were a preparation for war; and moreover not of the right sort. Against the Victorian repressions of life and refusal of opportunities, war was the natural rebound of ardent men. To describe the state of a society externally at peace but intrinsically moving towards war, the word Wardom has been invented. Now, there is to be sure, serious risk that after rising into War, such a society should sink back into the slough of Wardom. To the prevalence of such tendencies on all sides is due the pessimism of the post-war mind. But manifestations of the countering tendencies are also discernible. Some of these have already been cited; let us consider a few others of like significance. Note, to begin with, how the ceremonial instincts and habits that go with war's arousal, sought and found other outlets immediately war ceased. Several organisations to this end came into being within a few months of the armistice (25). The Arts League for National Ceremony was one of them; and in the designing and making of the great River Pageant on the Thames, the spirit of

1, "Ye see yon birkie ga'd a lord." (Robert Burns.)

the older Arts' and Crafts' movement came to fruition and made visible to the public that a true successor to William Morris exists in Henry Wilson (25a). A corresponding movement of the younger men was organised and presented in the Arts League of Service (26). This body not only adds to the "Arts and Crafts" of the past generation, those of Dancing, the Drama and Music, but puts these in the very forefront of its policy and programme. Hence, for instance, its converted motor war-lorry, a veritable theatre on wheels touring the villages of England with young players of that vigorous school which springs at one or more removes from the Abbey Theatre of Dublin.

These young dancers, players, singers, musicians of the Arts League of Service, banded for the heartening of the public, are, may we not say, the "Emotionals" of an incipient "Spiritual Power"? How the corresponding "People" to whose vitalizing service they are pledged, are themselves spontaneously awakening to the issues of life, the chancicleer of the *Daily Herald* proclaims (27). Where next are we to look for the "Chiefs" or executive leaders of the awakening "People"? Though the answer to this query be hardly as yet visible upon the hoardings, there is at least a hint of it on the bookstalls. The mercantile firm which issues "Bibby's Annual" professes to foresee the advent of an employer type that treats his office not so much as one of profit-making as of Trusteeship (28). Many such undoubtedly exist; the more they become the dominant type, the more active and resolute the "Directing Classes" will be in seeking out and installing in power those who amongst the workers themselves are gifted with the qualities and aptitudes of leadership. But in order that the functional may replace the financial or the fungoid in leadership, a corresponding change of ideas in education is needed. In other words the "Spiritual Power" affirmed as incipient, must have its "Intellectuals" of like order. Amongst many testimonies to the coming of a synthetic and human science fitted for this sort of guidance, note the poster of the "Civics Education League" announcing their Summer School (29). Viewing the world through a portico of the old "abbey" at High Wycombe (the venue of the school) the designer of this poster sees again, like the "Regular" of old the reality of neighbouring buildings in terms of actual living homes, along with the factories and workshops that maintain them. From the widening co-operation of such endeavours among many orders of "Intellectuals," the functional "cloister" of the incipient "Spiritual Power" is doubtless preparing: its coming will help to replace urban illusions by rustic realities, and so bring about what has been called a green revolution in place of a red one. A further step to this end is the long delayed reunion in direct association of

artists, musicians, poets, dramatists, sculptors, with the common folk. A sign and symptom of this coming together of People and Emotionals is the full quota of working-class representatives on the Council of the Arts League of Service. For final illustration take the poster of this League announcing Lectures and Demonstrations at the Central Hall, Westminster (30). Says the explanatory leaflet accompanying this poster :—

“ The public has few occasions of contact with any authority on Art; they get their opinions frequently from ill-informed criticisms and from biased quarters of the huge camp of commercial art. The Arts League of Service, therefore, in organising these lectures, has chosen a painter, a poet, a dancer, and a musician, each of whom is an artist in his special work.”

And what more appropriate place for this direct appeal of Art to the People than the Central Hall at Westminster? By its recent construction and emplacement in the sacred centre of national tradition and by the ingenious adaptations of its internal design to the purposes of public art, does not this significant building mark a real advance towards a living Cathedral for the incipient Spiritual Power? At any rate, if hardly yet a cathedral nave, it is assuredly a music-hall to which the Muses need not be ashamed of returning.

All these initiatives and a thousand others could be cited as the discernible harbingers of a creative era. Yet their practitioners, exponents, advocates, organisers, preachers and singers, assuredly need a clear and moving consciousness of common purpose, before they can hope to coalesce into that party of the Third Alternative which would also be the Party of a vital and constructive Peace. To constitute such a party and make its marching regiments move forward, as it were, *en echelon*, three pre-requisites are superlatively needed. They are, a richer vision of the social goal, a clearer knowledge of the social process, a viable plan of campaign. In the present confusion of social thought, dimness of social vision, dispersiveness of social action, these conditions of fulfilment may seem remote. The backwardness of social science is to be sure a severe hindrance to the growth and formation of a Party of Constructive Peace. But it is possible that the experience of the war may yet awaken even the academic sociologist to serious study of contemporary phenomena and so liberate him from obsession with the abstractions of past cultures, or the primitive simplicities of current barbarisms. In any case, there is testimony to the determination of the older Institutions, both lay and religious, not to wait upon the sociologist, but to fare forth themselves in pursuit of a knowledge of the social process. From this source, maybe, will issue the Friars of the coming cloister through whom understanding and sympathy will be once more united as a practising wisdom.

Their preaching will rouse us to a vision of life realizable here and now, region by region, city by city, on the supposition that we give our minds and apply our hands with the will and the energies of war. They will announce the conditions for a grand-scale campaigning of concerted activity amongst all the Institutions and Movements, old and new, that make for a Vital Economy in town and country. These ministrants of the coming cloister will blend into one moving picture of the might-be, those elements of reality that gave life to the paradises, heavens, utopias of former dispensations. Through drama, story, song, dance, picture, will the People be thus awakened to demand the skilled direction of a General Staff equipped and endowed on the scale of a great war.

Assuredly we need a word to describe the peace-mind of a society aroused to these issues. It must be a word that brings out the contrast with that illusory peace of recent centuries which was but disguised and latent war. The statesmen who, at Versailles, tried to join together the fragments of our broken world, are blamed for not giving us this higher kind of peace. But if you cannot make omelettes without breaking eggs, neither can you by merely breaking eggs. Having grown up in a peace that was wardom, our elder statesmen faithfully reflected in their treaty-making the minds of their peoples in lacking the vision still more the formula of a constructive peace. How, under these conditions, could the armistice be ought but the gateway of a return to wardom? But there are many who refuse this passage into a renewing Hades. It is for them to beat out the tracks towards Peacedom, a term invented to describe the state of mind manifested by a society resolute to wage a Holy War. The energies of Peacedom would be directed to the doing of two things, which are spiritual and temporal aspects of one and the same thing. First an alliance of Churches, Reform Societies, Recreative Associations, Learned Societies, Universities, Schools, to liberate the community from its burden of diseases, poverties, follies, ignorancies, apathies, vices, crimes. Next an alliance of Arts, Crafts, Industries, Trades, to re-make our urban environment, so that from being what it is for most, little better than a lethal chamber, it becomes for all a garden of life.

In a community attuned to a militant peace many problems which at present baffle the wisest statesmen by their complexity would become reduced to a manageable simplicity. For single instance of these secondary reactions (as they might be called) under a state of Peacedom, take the vexed question of increased output. Instead of the customary indirect appeal to workers suspiciously watching for the darkening shadows of unemployment, there could be substituted the direct drive of personal and family impulse. For there would spontaneously arise, under the conditions assumed, a

non-economic functions would be provided for, as in the Middle Ages, by endowment.

Postulating the incipience of this social and economic reorganization the problem one foresees is this—will it proceed directly from the State, or from the free association of individuals? *i.e.*, will the ideal of State socialism or that of voluntary co-operation prevail?

The former ideal was essentially a product of the industrial age. It was based on a belief in the superiority of the industrial centralization of the large scale business, and presupposed an industrial type of society in which agriculture was of little relative importance. It was an answer to the question, How can the lives of the workers be made tolerable if the economic conditions of the 19th century industrial State are to continue? And it made no attempt to restore true economic freedom and self-determination to the individual. The exaggerations of the *laissez faire* school had caused a profound distrust of all individualism, popular faith in Parliamentaryism was still unexploded, and there was as yet no realization of the dangers of a pseudo-democratic Servile State.

The last generation, however, has seen the growth of bureaucracy and the extension of government control in all departments of life, and an increasing distrust of politics and politicians among the people, and there is a general recognition of the necessity for a different type of guidance and direction if democracy and freedom are to be anything but a sham. Moreover, though the centralised socialist State may make for efficiency, it could hardly make for harmonious world development, unless the dream of a single world State were realized. The existence of a number of socialist centralised States each perfectly organized internally, and independent with regard to one another, would on the premises lead to the continuance of the present state of national rivalries and war.

Is not the co-operative ideal that which best meets the needs of the new order? The substitution of all-round world development for the exploitation of the world by the industrial powers, the gradual equalization of conditions between the old world and the new, and between the industrial and agricultural countries, as well as the dominance of the new humanist-democratic ideal, all make in the direction of decentralization and free association rather than of the unitary State and bureaucratic control.

The co-operative theory conceives the State, not as a mechanico-political unit under the control of the sovereign, whether autocratic or democratic, but as a living organism in which each part has its own function and develops according to its own laws.

Thus citizenship is a manifold thing. The individual is not simply a member of the State; he belongs to other corporate

pervasive impulse towards super-production, which is a very different thing from super-business. And this productive impulse would become operative and prevail just in proportion as there dawned in the mind of every worker a belief that his energies were contributing to a plan for the betterment of his own region and the enhancement of its population. How to generate this revealing faith and bring it home not only to every worker, but to all the members of each community concerned? That is the constructive task awaiting a renovated spiritual power; it is the positive aspect of that problem whose negative lies in the purging of our civilization from its dominant evils. For achievement in this field there is needed a vision of life so compelling and a corresponding doctrine of life so clear as to bring about a working unison of feeling and unity of thought throughout the peoples and the nations of our western civilization. Here surely are the spiritual pre-requisites to the energy of action essential to a safe passage through the present transition. The argument then is that along this path we must advance if, instead of sinking back from war into the putrid mire of wardom, the People with their Chiefs, Intellectuals and Emotionals are together to rise on the wings of embattled memories into the brightening realms of Peacedom.

VI. SOCIALIST IDEALS : THEIR ORIGINS AND OUTCOME.

It may contribute towards grasping more clearly the idea of Peacedom, to contrast with it the socialist ideal which is at present dominant. Rooted in a not dissimilar soil, the two ideals are nevertheless very different kinds of plant; for they grow from unlike seeds.

Not a few socialist critics of the Victorian Peace have long treated it as but masked and latent war. Having now come and gone, the war, that was logically due, is being submitted to analysis by these same writers. Their argument, when not purely economic, runs for the most part on lines that are more or less administrative, constitutional, almost legal. The war transferred, they point out, some five million able-bodied men of the British Nation from industrial to military service. And this immense army was kept in the field for several years; it was not only supplied with complicated munitions in incredible quantities, but was itself maintained at an individual level of life, in food, clothing, and recreation beyond the customary peace standards. And all the time the home population was fed, clothed and amused, up to a pitch of efficiency and energy evidenced by an admitted increase of output and heightening of vitality. How then was performed this seeming miracle of production, this acknowledged feat of distribution?

True there was a ceaselessly flowing stream of imports, pur-

chased from foreigners on long-term credit or by sale of accumulated securities; true that our roads, railways and machinery were allowed to fall into some disrepair, and our stocks for home consumption were similarly permitted to run down and the building of houses all but ceased. Yet make allowances on all these counts, and it still remains that in gross output the nation touched a level of performance undreamed in pre-war times. This miracle of production was wrought, say these socialist writers, by a social transformation in which may be discerned as its central process the substitution of State for private control and direction in industry. In short, they maintain that the exigencies of war brought about a first approximation to the socialist ideal. And since the Socialist State has thus demonstrated its capacity in war, why should it not prove equally efficient, indeed even more so, in peace?

But now, instead of stopping the enquiry at this point and thereupon passing with the socialist into dogma, let us with the sociologist push on a little further with the analysis of war-economy and war-politics. Recall that the burst of impassioned energy evoked by the war was directed mainly towards two material ends. One was the making of munitions, food and clothing, for the army; the other was the using up of these things in fighting. At first, it will be remembered, production barely kept pace with consumption. But in the later stages of the war, production ran magnificently ahead; and colossal stocks were heaped up. Then when a certain level of accumulation had been reached, a big battle was fought; and the hoarded wealth was dissipated in one heroic rite of sacrificial destruction, continued till the "dumps" were used up or reduced to moderate proportions. If the battle was lost, stocks were perhaps still more depleted than if won, with consequent heightening of impulse to fresh production. But win or lose, it became evident that war, by its very nature, supplied that ultimate desideratum of traders and manufacturers, an organised and unfailing means of keeping Demand ahead of Supply. Prices, consequently, were ever on the up-grade; and wages following suit, Labour enjoyed a similar prosperity to Capital. In short, war-economy turned out to be the very paradise that had been foreshadowed, hoped and prayed for in the pre-war cults of Goods-economy and Money-economy.

Examining next the kind of goods produced in this output of titanic energies, one sees them conforming to a few well-defined types. They were for the most part either simple rustic products like corn and wool, or rustic-urban compounds of established uniformity, like bully-beef, bread and margarine for feeding the armies; or well standardized manufactures like military clothing and accoutrements; or finally they were things like shells and

machine guns, which though highly complex yet become mass products of uniform manufacture as soon as there are ascertained and given the mathematical types of their mechanism and the chemical formulæ of their composition.

Thus operating within the limits of the Lower Sciences and the Cruder Arts war-economy rises to the heights of mass-output of standardized products, vendible at ever-rising prices in an indefinitely expansible market. After this fashion does war-economy reconcile the goods-economy of the early Manchester school with the price-economy of later financial schools, metropolitan and imperial.

Next observe that the assembling and distribution of this relatively uniform mass of standardized goods calls for a corresponding uniformity in clerical service, and so to the trading and manufacturing paradise, war-economy adds the administrative paradise of Monopolist Trusts and also that of Bureaucratic Government. Nor does this compounding of many ideals exhaust the attainment of economic harmonies through war. There are other types and classes to whom it brings a foretaste of their particular heaven. For does not military service afford to the workers and the humbler professions a representative sample of that leisure-class scheme of things to which they most of them aspire? Picture for instance the conditions of military service as recently demonstrated. Protracted phases of comparative freedom and irresponsible inactivity are spiced and garnished by intervals of excitement, varying in intensity from the mild joys of Y.M.C.A. games up to the ecstasies of that supreme sport, man-hunting; the distractions of foreign travel are punctuated by periodic opportunities to participate in metropolitan gaieties; food, clothing and all the materials of sustenance flow as into the lap of gods careless of costs and indifferent to source. Thus by furnishing those human contacts and recreational elements conspicuously lacking in mass-production of standardized goods, does war-economy complete its triumphs of organization. In short, the revealing discovery is made that war provides the populace with a certain semblance to those conditions of "complete material well-being" which constituted the leisure-class ideal of the Victorian era.¹

On enquiry next into the political forms associated with this economic dispensation, it is easy to see that centralization of authority must go with maximum output of low-grade standardized products. The nation embattled, therefore, naturally places its political destinies in the hands of leaders most skilled by tradition

1. Trading on these leisure-class ideals, the alluring posters which invite young men to join the new volunteer army "and see the world for nothing" doubtless do their work efficiently.

and experience in the manifold forms incidental to the centralization of power. And where are such leaders to be found? Assuredly, there is one occupation and one alone which inherits an immemorial tradition and an incomparable skill in the practice of centralization. It is, of course, the occupation of the warrior. But what, it will be asked, is the connection between political and military forms of centralization? The answer is becoming increasingly plain to students of historical sociology; for they perceive modern theories of the State to be little more than rationalizations made from the military or quasi-military practices of ruling castes.

In entire sincerity do academic theorists of the State impute the origins of their philosophy to the political thinkers of ancient Greece. But that merely relegates the general question, and in any case does not preclude the sociological interpretation of these modern theorists of the State as unconscious political sophists of a masked militarism.

How then in this view should be rated and where placed the "practical politician" in the modern State? Whether in power as a conventional statesman, or seeking power by advocacy of an insurgent statesmanship, the politician would, from the given standpoint, be seen as arrested midway in reversion to the military type. Two further stages towards completing their reversion were well exemplified by our leading statesmen during the war. What were these? Well, recall that to his supremacy in centralizing skill the warrior adds other unique occupational distinctions. He excels beyond question in the mystical power of combining destruction of lives and property with enhancement in the life of the destroyers. And because this order of thaumaturgy evokes a quick response in the deep instincts and unavowed passions of men, the warrior exercises a spell that can bind his community into devoted singleness of purpose. With but little equivocation, therefore, did politicians of all schools, not excluding those of Liberal and even Radical tradition, plunge with ardour into the study of these finer developments, mental, moral, and spiritual, of the military tradition in its application to the art of Government. After a brief apprenticeship, they were to be seen vigorously leading, accompanying, or following their respective bodies of adherents in the corresponding practices. They rapidly became adepts at extending centralization, both political and economic, to its furthest limits. They quickly acquired a fine skill in stirring the nation to feats of labour, exploits of peril and marvels of endurance; in rousing the sense of solidarity, and quickening the pulsers of national animus.

Thus, by compounding for economic application and social usage the four ingredients of militarism, *viz.*, centralization of

authority, wholesale destruction, enhancement of life, impassioned unanimity, did the politics of war push to their denouement those deep and hidden tendencies which sanction the title of Warden in application to the antecedent "peace." And that politics and economics were throughout in accord, if not evident from the above analysis, will at least not be denied by students of socialism, since their philosophy is based on an economic interpretation of history. But to see more clearly the linkage between war-economy and war-politics one may turn to the psychologist, and perchance learn also from him at the same time, something of the inner drive from nineteenth century peace to twentieth century war.

The bundles of mental habits characteristic of the Victorian peace had their accompanying body of half-conscious wishes and sub-conscious desires. These deeper impulses, when repressed, seem to coalesce into disturbing ferments of the mind, for which the psycho-analysts have invented a phrase, not very happily chosen, because of its slightly mechanistic bias. Mental *complexes* is the name they give to these abnormal cerebral integrations which effect temporary adjustments of the individual life to the community life in a society of debased tradition and deteriorate environment. From the investigations of this most active of current psychological schools we also discover how the unsatisfied desires of the heart seek a passive outlet in dreams, and that when the soul is stirred to passionate emotion a more realistic fulfilment of that devastating inner urge is, for ill or good, achieved. These psycho-analysts, as their researches extend, are constantly revealing in the working of our minds, new complexes of definite relation to our tradition, occupation, and general mode of life and kind of milieu. And, if they have not yet observed and examined with the detail requisite to scientific analysis, a "war complex" in the mind of the ordinary and average urban man of these days, we may surely expect it from them at any moment. To assume, then, a warden complex as characteristic of the Victorian mind is a fair deduction from extant data. That means, all the time, starved instincts, thwarted impulses, repressed desires were seeking and finding a vent in bad dreams, ugly actions and dubious conduct, sometimes "rationalized," more often instinctive or merely impulsive. It means also that, of these bad dreams, many worked through into conscious thought and became elaborated into imposing systems. May we not, must we not, impute to such origins the notion of a proletarian paradise to be won by "the class war"; and also the not unrelated illusion of limitless markets in an expanding empire? Is not this latter concept but a variant of the former; the strife of nations in the imperial dream being the equivalent of the class-war in the socialist utopia?

Making these assumptions we more clearly see Germany, tormented by such obsessions even beyond the other Great States of our common occidental civilization, plunging into war, if only to merge the domestic peril in the foreign adventure. But to all the belligerents war brought the relief of action in a crisis of nerves prolonged over more than one generation. And the springs of emotional energy being released, the war naturally proved all the more protracted in time, comprehensive in range, and extensive in destruction, by reason of the long antecedent repression.

Returning now to the political problem, what illumination does this further analysis offer? Does it not suggest a very definite interpretation of the Socialist State? Born and nurtured in the Victorian peace, the idea of the Socialist State came to fruition in the war, because well adapted to create the political and economic forms necessary to a successful issue in that order of activity. The conclusion would appear to be that this socialist ideal is itself a product of the wardom complex. Thus it bears a relation at once to the war-mind and to the business-mind. If in a learned discussion, it be permissible to borrow the language of the stable-yard, then, daring greatly for the sake of a vivid metaphor, one might venture to describe the fashionable form of current Socialism as a chestnut gelding, in course of being broken to harness, out of Business-mind by War-mind.

To demonstrate a correlation of socialism with wardom is by no means to imply that the Socialist State is incapable of initiating and developing a true and constructive peace. But the conclusion does follow that current socialist modes and ideals must themselves undergo profound change, if they would show the way and organize the means to the life-economy and civic-economy of Peacedom.

To affirm the possibility of such a radical change in socialist doctrine is no pious hope or postulate of perfection, but a suggestion of definite re-orientation. There are in the tradition of socialism two heritages, widely divergent. One proceeds along the broad road of Marxian dogma; and the other by the narrow way of social experiment, on which the open-air philosophy of Robert Owen triumphantly started. If working-class leaders had pursued the latter with the same assiduity they have given to the closet-doctrine of Marx, the rank and file would now, it is fair to assume, be well on the way to reaping a richer harvest of real wages, instead of still struggling in the economic void of the price-system, with its mirage of nominal wages.

Owen's way led through Co-operation to Housing, Town-planning, Gardened Cities, and in short, all that bettering of environment which comes from an ordered application of the Finer

Arts and the Higher Sciences to social needs. For Robert Owen, industry, trade and finance were means very deliberately to be adjusted to this end, of life abundant, for the community of workers. Here then, within the Socialist tradition, indeed at its core, is a very different vision from the quasi-militarist ideal of a people organized for mass production of low-grade products, educated in the learning of the leisure-class, and practising its cheaper modes of recreation by way of physical exercise and spiritual sustenance. If it be asked how it came about that socialists were persuaded to adopt this Great Illusion which has developed from the Marxian heresy, the answer is not difficult when one looks back in the dry light of sociological analysis over the long-drawn drama of the industrial era. The creeping reversion to militarism which gradually overtook society in the nineteenth century, we increasingly see to have been deeply characteristic of Machine Production. That being so, the militarist ideal must needs renew itself; and moreover in twin forms adapted to the two Great Interests of these days, *i.e.* Capital and Labour. The suggestion has been made above that Imperialism and Socialism are correlative political systems that respectively meet the requirements of the Classes and the Masses under the Machine Industry and the Pecuniary Culture. But that generalization is somewhat too sweeping, by reason of lacking a certain discrimination. The qualification now suggested is that the proletarian adjustment was less in the nature of things than the product of misguided intellectual endeavours. By impassioned dialectics protracted over a full generation, the Marxian element was manoeuvred from a heretical position on the margin, to an orthodox position at the centre of socialist doctrine. To be sure, various correctives have spontaneously arisen amongst working-class movements, but none, so far, have been definitely directed to a full renewal and further development of the rich Owenite tradition. Perhaps the Guild Socialists are destined to that attainment. But if so, must they not develop their Guild organization of industry into a Life-economy of Cities and their Regions, on pain of relapse to a quasi-military tradition of State-economy in chronic wardom?

Since guilds in point of historic origin, and therefore of social purpose, are in, of and for the city, their contemporary renewal must be civic in scope and aim, if it is to grow into a natural fulfilment of type. Further, let it be recalled that coincident with the flowering of the mediæval guilds, there occurred the rise of the Universities and the coming of the Friars. Now think of the Universities and the Friaries at their constructive best in the thirteenth century. Conceive them as the wings of an organism, whose feet were the

guilds, and body the natural autonomous city-region. The ultimate tragedy of that age was a certain frustration that overcame those wings and feet in their effort to carry the city forward through the troubled transition of mediæval to modern times. And to-day that problem confronts the cities of our western world with an urgency intensified by the evils accumulated during all the years of failure to adjust the heritage of the historic past to contemporary and prospective needs through the intermediacy of modern resources. Our cities have as yet been lamentably lacking in the balanced movement of earth-gripping feet and lifting wings. It is then of good augury that a vital renewal of universities is well under way, and even a renaissance of guilds is incipient. But long overdue is a new coming of Friars fully equipped in modern resources, yet cherishing the past and looking to the future. Their arrival will mark a real initiation into an era of Peacedom.¹

APPENDIX.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIVE POSTERS AND PICTURES.

1. A Box o' Tricks. Music Hall Poster.
2. Pour La France. French Flower-day Poster.
3. "I Leave the Land to You." War Poster.
4. Underground Railway Poster.
- 4a. Covers of Popular Magazines.
5. War Savings Poster.
- 6 & 7. "Baby Week" Posters.
8. Whistler's Portrait of his Mother.
9. Soldiers' and Sailors' Map of London. (R.I.B.A. Greater London Survey.)
- 9a. Opening of Crystal Palace as War Museum.
10. The Strong Arm of Labour. (Lamp Advertisement.)
11. Advertisement of Cigarettes. (Fashionable young man and woman at a Race Meeting.)
12. Advertisement of Hair-wash. (Man contemplating in an armchair.)
13. Frontispiece Picture from "Pan."
- 13a. Symbolic Picture of War-ruined Area.
- 13b. "Summer in Arcady."
- 13c. The "Master Creations of Cotton Land."
- 13d. Terrace Scene at Monte Carlo.
14. Cartoon from "La Vie Parisienne."
- 14a. Scenes from the Illustrated Press.
- 14b. Youth and Death.
15. Pictures from the Home-Building Press.
- 15a. Map of Local Housing—prepared for Exhibition of "Beautiful Richmond, Past, Present and Possible."
16. "Punch's" Presentations of the Profiteer.
- 16a. The Bolshevik—as his critics see him.
17. Child Playing on Hampstead Heath. (Railway Poster.)

1. This essay is No. XII in the series of *Papers for the Present*, for which the Cities Committee is responsible.

- 17a. Advertisement of a History of the British Empire.
18. A June Morning, Noon and Evening at Sea. (Railway Poster.)
19. Advertisements appealing for the Starving Children of Devastated War Regions.
20. The Skilled Artistry of Vanity Fair.
21. More Skilled Artistry of Vanity Fair.
22. League of Nations Union Poster.
23. Pictures of Cemeteries in the Flanders Battle-area.
24. Monuments to Nurse Cavell, in Paris and London.
25. Announcements of Arts and Civic Associations.
- 25a. Illustrations of River Pageant to celebrate the Peace. (By Henry Wilson.)
26. Arts League of Service—Travelling 'Company.'
27. The "Daily Herald's" *Chanticleer*.
28. The Employer as Trustee.
29. Poster of the Civics Education League.
30. Arts League of Service Poster. (Lectures in Central Hall, Westminster.)

During the autumn the Sunday evening meetings of the Church of Humanity (London Positivist Society) have been devoted, according to the Society's announcement, to discourses on Plutarch, Herbert Spencer, Professor Bury on 'Progress,' and Raphael. The Positivist Society meets for discussion on the last Friday in September, October and November.



REVIEWS.

A NEW CHAPTER IN THE SCIENCE OF GOVERNMENT. By Benchara Branford. Chatto and Windus. London: 1919. 5/- net.

The first impression which the "New Chapter" may create in a reader—the first, at any rate, which it has created in the reviewer, is typographical. There are always at least five varieties of type. Sometimes there is clarendon: sometimes there are italics: sometimes there are capitals. Italics are stated in the index generally to express or imply maxims, "in the Aristotelian sense of major postulates": if it be so, the book is mainly a book of maxims. But it would rather appear that Mr. Branford is an ardent enthusiast, and that italics and capitals are the symbols of his enthusiasms. Yet enthusiasms and emphasis are possible within the limits of the printer's law; and the force which is purchased by a multiplication of founts really argues some weakness. There is a weakness in Mr. Branford's book; and it is a weakness of style. He has not a measured cadence: his voice rises gustily, and sometimes sinks into obscurity. He has a love for the magic of words, and can write finely about that magic: but he coins new words, in a way which modern geographers seem to affect, words which are bare and raw and uninviting and unnecessary, words like "peacedom" and "wardom" and the adjective "Britamerindian." Often he is prone to a majestic but obscure diction: as Macaulay said of Mr. Gladstone, "he has one gift most dangerous to a speculator, a vast command of a kind of language, grave and majestic, but of vague and uncertain import."

ὁ γὰρ τοῦ φθέγματος ὡς ἱερὸν, καὶ σεμνόν, καὶ τερατώδες.

His book is a romantic tangled forest, with tall vague trees—intersected by mathematically regular clearings. The romantic forest, with its lofty maxims, reminds one of the style of *Also sprach Zarathustra*: the clearings (by which are to be understood scholastic classifications and tabular synopses), remind one of the writings of Herbert Spencer. But there is more forest than clearing. Mr. Branford has not the gift of marshalling his ideas in a logical sequence and a *lucidus ordo*. He drifts instead of steering: he is of the school of the prophets—and he is prophet in eruption full of whirling thoughts, and yet possessed of a central theme.

Many things meet in his book—prophecy, philosophy, biology, geography, scholasticism, Comtianism. It is bewildering—but still there is a central theme: and while from one point of view there is excursus piled upon excursus, from another there is a posing, and in some measure an answering, of a single problem. That problem, in a word, is the problem of reconciling contiguity with profession. This bald statement (the baldness is on the head of the reviewer, and not on that of the author) needs some amplification and expansion. Society, we may say, begins in a coherence based on the nexus of blood: it is a society of kinsmen. In time it acquires a coherence based on the nexus of contiguity: it rests more on geography, and less on consanguinity: but geographical contiguity is still connected, perhaps more in idea than in fact, with consanguinity, and the fruit of the connection is the national state, whose members live together in a certain territory, but are (or rather conceive themselves to be) of a common birth or *natia*. Upon this growth there supervenes the nexus of a common occupation or profession—the nexus

1. See editorial note at end of review.

unions according to the function which he performs and the locality in which he dwells; and as the guild or union of which he is a free partner is bound to respect his rights, so surely is the State bound to respect the rights of the corporate entities of which it consists.

Functional unions, *i.e.* the associations of members of a particular trade or profession, are not the only corporate bodies which make up the State. The territorial and inter-functional units are of even greater importance, since they possess the capacity for a political and social life of their own.

During the past age the centralized State and centralized industry tended to absorb all local life into the great urban conglomerations, and brought about a separation between the town and the country which paralyzed rural life and gave an unhealthy and one-sided development to the city. On the other hand, the general economic tendencies of the new age which we have discussed, all point towards a revival of local life. The more equal distribution of population and industrial development together with the revived importance of agriculture will restore the connection between the city and the agricultural districts which surround it, and the city will tend to become again what it was before the industrial revolution—the centre and head of a natural region rather than the offshoot of a cosmopolitan organization which has little in common with the country life which environs it.

The co-operation and mutual interpenetration of town and country would benefit both the countryman and the town worker, and would help to produce a new local patriotism and civic life.

There is, to be sure, a certain competition between the federation of unions for the same function in different regions, and the federation of the different functional unions in one region and city. But adjustment has to be sought in the principle that the local citizenship should come before membership of the general functional union, and that the primary functional unions should consider themselves as members of the regional society even more than of the national or international federation of the unions of their own trade. Thus the co-operative State, like the Roman Empire, would be a federation of local organisms, each possessing a civic life of its own, but it would begin where the Roman Empire left off, with a common citizenship and equal rights of development for all its members. Moreover from the co-operative point of view the national State is not, as the last age believed, the one absolute society, its position and powers are interdependent and related to the other corporate unions. As there are societies with rights below it so there are societies with rights above it, though these are as yet unrealized. As the national culture existed to a great

illustrated by the mediæval guild and the modern trade union; and with the appearance of the new nexus, at any rate in its modern form, syndicalism (which is the cult of the occupation or profession), takes its stand by the side of the old nationalism. When that happens you must reconcile the two "isms": you must fit the *syndicat* into the territorial society. And this, in the main, is what Mr. Branford sets himself to do. Using the metaphor of the weaver, as Plato used it in the *Politicus*, he would knit together in one texture occupational weft and geographical warp.

This fitting and knitting involves, to some extent, a rejection of the territorial State as it stands to-day—the State which claims the entire allegiance of all its citizens within, and acknowledges no allegiance to any higher society without. To Mr. Branford the State is not enough. He desires devolution upwards, upon a world-Society: he desires devolution downwards, upon the contained regions, districts, cities, villages—each in its degree: he desires also recognition not only of the world-society above and the contained areas below, but also of occupational or professional groups. In a word, he is an international and local devolutionist with a *soupeçon* of syndicalism—which is all, as it were, according to the latest fashion. The syndicalist element is not, indeed, very strong: Mr. Branford emphasises the permanence and priority of the geographical units: "the home," he writes, "must ever transcend occupation." But he holds that society based simply on geographical units is not enough: that it means war and the rumour of war; that the connecting tissue of occupationalism (though it is hardly clear that occupationalism, internally dissociative will be anywhere connective) must somehow be added. He calls, therefore, on the British Commonwealth—believing, as he does, in the inherent political aptitude of its peoples—to lead and show the way of the addition, and by a new design of polity to render the greatest of all the services it has ever rendered to humanity. Internationalist as he is (it is interesting to see) he starts, after all, from the Commonwealth—or, as he terms it (alas) "the Britamerindian Commonweal."

Immediately, he proposes a conference "appointed by both Houses of Parliament" (those at Westminster? or those at certain other places also? *non liquet*): a convention of the whole Commonwealth; and a committee reporting to that convention. Simultaneously, there are to be convened REGIONAL conventions (civic, regional, national) which are to act and move *pari passu* with the convention of the Commonwealth. (This suggests a plethora of conventions, and a happy optimism about their march *sed de his hactenus*). Ultimately, he hopes to see established, apparently as the fruit of these conferences, conventions and committees, a graded hierarchy of bicameral legislatures—civic, regional, national, international; and in bicameralism thus multiplied he sees achieved that fitting and knitting which he desires. For the lower chamber is to be geographical, like the present House of Commons: the upper chamber is to be occupational, as, at any rate in the yarn, the present House of Lords may be argued to be; and in the co-operation of the two the web of the new polity may be fitly knit together, and old territorialism may be wedded to new occupationalism. Finance is to correspond to legislation: there is to be a dual taxation: one set of taxes is to be geographical, "according to family ability to pay," and another occupational, falling on "the groups of allied occupations." There is also to be a double judicature to the geographical judges by whom we are now judged there are to be added "guild arbitrators"—but who the latter are, and what they are to do, is left vague, and reserved for another enquiry, as "a vast and far-reaching matter that demands special and long consideration in itself."

This is the central fortress and keep of the new polity; but the author adds several outworks, some of them in a fanciful style of architecture. The lower and

geographical chamber will, we are told, represent youth: the upper and occupational chamber will represent maturity and "senescence." The former will thus be progressive and the latter conservative; while it is also suggested that the one will perhaps tend to be preponderantly masculine, and the other preponderantly feminine. (Mr. Branford, it should be remarked, is a convinced believer in the political potentialities of womanhood). Some of these things may remind us of Plato—the Plato of the *Laws*; but indeed they may also remind us of all builders of Utopias and Oceanas and new cities of Atlantis. Utopias have their place (in spite of their name of "no-place") in political speculation. They are lights set on a hill, though they are sometimes whimsical lights: they may guide progress, though they may betray the eager progressive into a quagmire. That second chambers may come to be occupational is a dream that many of us have dreamed. It is not clear that it is a wise dream. A thoroughly occupational second chamber might be too strong a Second Chamber. When there is a cabinet, the cabinet must serve one master. That master must be the territorial or lower house. Those who believe in the cabinet system (and the reviewer, in spite of the last five years, still hopes and believes), may well urge that in any projected reconstruction of the second chamber it is always necessary to remember and weigh the effects of reconstruction upon that system. Mr. Branford has hardly remembered or weighed these things. And there is perhaps another thing which, in his gentle optimism, he has hardly remembered enough. He proposes that the occupational chamber should fairly represent, in an equitable ratio, employers and employed, and that in every group or occupation the two sides, after consultation with other groups, should reach some agreement on this matter. Is this likely? Is it not most likely that the two sections in each group will disagree, and, furthermore, that each group will disagree with each other about its proper quota?

Mr. Branford again and again refers to history. He makes concessions again and again, in general terms, to historic tradition; but he is more Platonic than Aristotelian in his attitude to the past. He loves, indeed, the Middle Ages, which have come into fashion in their days of "guilds": but he loves them somewhat indiscriminately, and without enough fullness of knowledge. He makes some historical slips. It is an error (an error partly corrected in a footnote to the index) to attribute the "grand design" to Henri IV: it is an error to say that "peeresses once sat in the Upper Chamber": it is an error to say that the Guild Alderman became merged in his modern namesake. Mr. Branford is apt to make history fit the bed of his theory: and when he suggests that the bicameral system is a subconscious product of two sociological functions, he is oblivious to the simple historical fact that the English bicameral system is simply an accident,—an accidental development, due to certain particular causes which operated in the fourteenth century, of the mediæval system of Estates—an accidental development which, owing to certain other particular causes which operated after 1783, has been generally copied elsewhere.

But it is idle, and unjust, to censure Mr. Branford for slips of history. He is all things—prophet, historian, biologist, Comtist, geographer, and economist—a synthesis, necessarily imperfect in many departments, of nearly all departments. The modern geographer is apt to love synthesis, and Mr. Branford is enamoured of it. But he is at his best not in synthesis, but in flashes and *aperçus*. Some of his flashes are fanciful: indeed there is a good deal that is fanciful in his book—as when, connecting organisation with organic, and organic with growth, and growth with agriculture, he argues that Germany has showed a great gift of organisation, because there was "agricultural conservative thought in the higher polity of Germany." It is part of his fancy to schematise life in triads: and to write (as he does in § 4) a sort of Athanasian Creed: it is another part to build bridges of connection that

carry nothing and connect nothing. But his flashes can also be just, and sane and illuminating: and sometimes they rise into a sort of Nietzschean prose-poetry. He speaks well and soundly about the real meaning of Labour, and against the vindication of that term for manual work, as if it were the only labour: he argues well and soundly that work should itself be education, which is a deep and pregnant "maxim." In a word, Mr. Branford is, as it were, in a smithy. The lump of hot metal which he beats on the anvil assumes no very definite shape. But there are plenty of sparks.

ERNEST BARKER.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

In the interest of accuracy of fact and relevance in interpretation, an editorial intervention between reviewer and author seems desirable at this point. The author did not invent, nor does he claim to have invented, the words "wardom" and "peacedom." He uses them as terms needed and already introduced into sociology to express factual observations for which neither common language nor the extant terminology of the science supplied a single word. Just as chemical and physiological analysis necessitated new words, like oxygen and protoplasm, so sociological analysis necessitates words like wardom and peacedom. For an instance of the quite definite usage of these terms in the technical sense they were originally intended to serve, the reader may be referred to p. 124 of the current *Review*. As to the form of the words, they are unpleasant to the ear, but to infer on that account they are "unnecessary" is doubtless to exhibit an unconscious animus of the kind which psycho-analysts are teaching us to regard as symptoms of social disease no less than of personal disharmonies. For instance, when Bentham invented and introduced the word "international," there were probably critics who objected to it on grounds of linguistic purity and non-necessity, when they were animated also by instinctive aversion to the incipient changes of thought and sentiment which the coming of the word indicated.

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By William McDougall. Methuen & Co. London: 1920.

The attainment of the 14th edition within a little more than a decade of the first publication of Dr. McDougall's "Introduction to Social Psychology" is a striking tribute both to the interest now taken in the subject and to the lucidity of exposition which marks Dr. McDougall's work. His system is based on a few primary concepts. The foundation stone of mind-structure is instinct, which is definite as "an inherited or innate psycho-physical disposition which determines its possessor to perceive, and to pay attention to, objects of a certain class, to experience an emotional excitement of a particular quality upon perceiving such an object, and to act in regard to it in a particular manner, or, at least, to experience an impulse to such action." From these specific innate tendencies Dr. McDougall distinguishes certain non-specific tendencies such as suggestion, imitation, a tendency to play, emulation, and so on. Out of these simple elements are built up all the more complex dispositions and systems of dispositions which in the author's view determine the institutions, groupings, and other phenomena of society. Armed with these distinctions he proceeds in the second part of the work to explain the fundamental characters of society.

With the first or analytical part we need not here concern ourselves. It is still subject to much dispute among psychologists and is likely to remain so. The problem of distinguishing primary from secondary, original from derived, simple from compounded elements of the mind—if indeed we can speak in such terms at all—is extremely difficult. The rationale of the distinction which makes, for example, love

a sentiment and admiration not a sentiment but a "complex affective state" is open to much debate. These problems, however, belong to the psychologist and not to the sociologist.

What we are concerned with here is the second part of the work in which Dr. McDougall professes to show the operation of primary tendencies of the mind on the life of society. It is this part, if any, which would justify the attribute "social" in the expression Social Psychology. Dr. McDougall insists that psychology is a necessary foundation of the social sciences, and with his general position we may agree. Whether we ought, in that case, to define psychology as "the positive science of behaviour" is another question altogether. It is hard to see how under that definition the social sciences can be anything but branches of psychology, a position which is otherwise unsound and is certainly not corroborated by Dr. McDougall's own application of the psychological method in the latter part of his work.

This part begins with a chapter intended to show the operation of the reproductive and the parental instincts in the life of society. We are told that "the reproductive instinct is in a sense anti-social rather than social." After this remarkable statement the author declares that statistics show that "the numbers of marriages and births in various countries vary with the cost of the prime necessities of life and with the prosperity of trade and agriculture." This seems to imply a direct relation between economic prosperity and the increase of the birth-rate, which, of course, is quite contrary to the more recent experience of nearly all civilized countries. On page 269 Dr. McDougall explains that the parental instinct involves self-sacrifice, and that therefore the most solemn social sanctions are formed in order to maintain it. "These sanctions," he says, "are in the main the more solemnly and rigidly maintained by any society, the higher the degree of civilization attained by it and the freer and more nearly universal the play of the intellectual faculties among the members of that society." This sweeping statement will surprise anybody who is familiar with the social life either of primitive or of advanced peoples and, in fact, Dr. McDougall, in the same chapter, contradicts it by a statement as to the weakening in the civilizations of Greece and Rome of the social sanctions of the parental and reproductive instincts. It is almost impossible to derive anything in the way of a consistent explanation from Dr. McDougall's account. He tells us, on the one hand, that, owing to social selection, the strength of the instinct is maintained from generation to generation, while, on the other hand, he tells us that civilization develops influences that weaken the social supports of the parental instincts. One feels, in reading this chapter as in those that follow, that Dr. McDougall has no methodology applicable to the form of explanation which he has undertaken.

The succeeding chapter on the instinct of pugnacity bears out this conclusion. Again the idea of selection is used to explain the development of the instinct of pugnacity, and that in turn is regarded as playing an important part in the evolution of social qualities. Using as an example the tribes of Borneo, Dr. McDougall maintains that the fiercer temper of the hill tribes is due to the more bracing climate of the central regions, a simplicity of explanation which contrasts strangely with the methods of writers like Westermarck or Wundt. The dogmatic assumption that pugnacity determines the survival of the more energetic individuals and groups shows an ignorance of the results of such work as that of Seeck in his classic exposition of the Downfall of Ancient Civilizations. And it is hard to resist challenging such *ipse dixit*s, as, for example, the assertion that the Chinese "are deficient in those social qualities which may be summed up under the one word conscientiousness."

Many further instances might be adduced. I add a few, not in any spirit of captious criticism, but simply to show that no analysis of the mind-structure, however

admirable, can suffice to produce a sociology. Take, for example, the aggregation of special trades in special localities or streets, such as the doctors in Harley Street or the coachbuilders in Longacre. This the author explains in terms of "imitation." He thinks it is a curious anomaly under a competitive system, not realizing that the competitive system encourages that very arrangement owing to the economic value of the concentration of demand. He explains the tendency away from free trade towards tariff reform also as due to a process of imitation, a method of explanation which is distinctly more abstract than that of which he accuses the classical economists who are supposed to have postulated the "economic man." These instances reveal the fundamental defect in the definition of psychology as the science of behaviour. The life of men in society cannot be explained without relation to their environments, and a psychologist who relies purely on the psychological approach is utterly unable to explain the concrete reactions of men to specific situations in time and space. His explanation becomes abstract, almost metaphysical. Psychology is, as Dr. McDougall insists, an indispensable propædæutic to social science. When it goes further under the ambiguous name of "social psychology," and endeavours to explain the social structure in terms of instinct and sentiment, it necessarily fails. No student of social science can well help contrasting the grasp and lucidity of the first part of Dr. McDougall's book with the hesitancy and incoherence of the latter part.

R. M. MACIVER.

THE CASE FOR NATIONALIZATION. By A. Emil Davies. Allen and Unwin. London: 1920.

Mr. Emil Davies' new book, "The Case for Nationalization," carries on admirably the contention of his earlier book "The Collectivist State in the Making," which in its new edition is named "The State in Business." The case for nationalization as presented by Mr. Davies is that private competition involves waste and a displacement of the conception of service by the desire for private gain. It is shown (Chapter V) that communal enterprises have been successful in shipping, banking, and general trade, but the examples are naturally taken from countries other than ours. The difficulties in the way of nationalizing any great industry in the United Kingdom are frankly stated, and the discussion of the influence of the "governing class" is particularly good. From the point of view of the workers the chief issues are the right to strike in a nationalized industry and the possibility of a share in management being given to the workers. Methods of nationalization are discussed and the objections to it are fully stated.

The arguments for and against are so well known that it is unnecessary to review them here; and it is clearly impossible to assert exactly the value of the case put forward by Mr. Davies without a very long economic and political discussion. But Mr. Davies' book has an immense value quite apart from the thesis he maintains; for it is an excellent collection of opinions and statements of fact from a great variety of sources. The opinions of those who oppose nationalization are given in full, especially when they confess unwillingly to the utility of state ownership or management; and thus the book is fundamental for the study not only of the actual arguments but of the political conceptions of our time. There is a prevailing obsession with economic issues. Nationalization or state ownership is discussed by both sides in the political field without any reference to the character of political government. The ideas underlying the arguments of both sides are those of economic efficiency; what is really disputed is whether it will "pay" or whether we can get

more coal or better services under state ownership or state management. No one refers to the effect upon law and justice of making the state into an economic organization; and the economists, both professional and amateur, are ignorant of current political philosophy. This is not a complaint. It is a statement of fact. Mr. Davies' book only makes that fact more obvious; and it is of great value to have such a candid review of the leading economic problem of our times, given in the words of practical men, which entirely excludes the conception of the state or government developed in most writings on political science or philosophy. Is the state, then, an economic organization? But if so, is the present parliamentary and administrative system adequate? These questions are not raised by Mr. Davies, but they rise in the mind of his reader.

C. D. B.

At the meeting of the Council of the Sociological Society in June it was proposed to initiate a collaboration between the *Sociological Review* and the leading universities of England, Scotland, and Wales for the purpose of noting, reviewing, and abstracting the current literature of sociology and issuing these reviews and abstracts as a quarterly supplement, which could be bound at the end of the year into a Sociological Yearbook. Various exponents of the social sciences, such as Messrs. McDougall, Myres and Marett at Oxford, Professor Westernmark at London, and Professor Fleure at Aberystwyth, had expressed their approval of this project, and had undertaken to enlist the co-operation of their seminar students in distributing the work. Owing to the limitations of space placed upon the *Sociological Review* because of inadequate financial support, and owing partly to the fact that, for the same reason, proper editorial assistance cannot be obtained, the *Review* is unable for the present to carry on this project. This does not mean that the proposal has been finally abandoned. It will, on the contrary, be revived and carried out as soon as the requisite material support is forthcoming; since the absence of any adequate machinery for dealing with contemporary sociological inquiry is a serious reflection upon the position of British scholarship in the social sciences. For the present, the student who seeks to keep in touch with current sociological thought cannot look for adequate help in British periodicals, and we are therefore compelled to refer him to the *Revue de L'Institut de Sociologie*, the *American Journal of Sociology*, and the *Revista Italiana di Sociologia*, which pretty well cover the field. Every scholar will agree that the publication of an adequate digest of contemporary contributions to his science is in itself sufficient reason for a learned periodical's existence, and the inability of the *Sociological Review* to perform this function under its present circumstances shows how little public recognition there is of the importance of scientific apparatus in social science.

The publications of *La Musée Sociale* in the three numbers from May to August embrace the following topics: The Organization of the Struggle against Syphilis, by Dr. Leredde (June); Poland, Economic and Social, by André Lichtenberger (May); and the League of Red Cross Societies, by Wm. E. Rappard (July-August).

The Senate of the University of Liverpool has awarded the Diploma in Social Studies to Misses Celia Cook, Margaret Harford and Enid Rawson, and the Certificate in Social Studies to Misses Frances Carpenter, Beryl Harris, and Mr. Edward Roberts.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

THE PROBLEM OF DEMOCRACY. Papers and Proceedings: Fourteenth Annual Meeting, American Sociological Society. Held at Chicago, Ill., December 29-31, 1919. Volume xiv, 295 pages. University of Chicago Press. Chicago: 1920.

THE HUMAN MOTOR, or The Scientific Foundations of Labour and Industry. By Jules Amar. 470 pages, with 309 illustrations and numerous tables. Routledge. London: 1920. 30/- net.

THE REAL WEALTH OF NATIONS, or A New Civilization and its Economic Foundations. By John S. Hecht. 350 pages. George G. Harrap & Co. London: 1920. 15/- net.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF PLANTS. By M. E. Hardy. 327 pages; 115 illustrations. Oxford University Press. Oxford: 1920.

A PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIAL PROGRESS. By E. J. Urwick. Revised Second Edition; First Edition, 1912. 244 pages. Methuen & Co. London: 1920. 7/6 net.

COMMUNITY: A Sociological Study, Being an Attempt to Set out the Nature and Fundamental Laws of Social Life. By R. M. Maciver. Revised Second Edition; First Edition, 1917. 438 pages. Macmillan. London: 1920. 15/- net.

CHAOS AND ORDER IN INDUSTRY. By G. D. H. Cole. 292 pages. Methuen & Co. London: 1920. 7/6 net.

HOUSING AND THE HOUSING PROBLEM. By Carol Aronovici. 163 pages. McClurg & Co. Chicago: 1920.

AN AMERICAN LABOR POLICY. By Julius Henry Cohen. 110 pages. Macmillan. New York: 1920. 5/6 net.

THE REMAKING OF A MIND: A Soldier's Thoughts on War and Reconstruction. By Henry De Man. 289 pages. Allen & Unwin. London: 1920. 7/6 net.

CONTRE L'IMPÉRIALISME OUVRIER, Contre Les Routines Sociales Patronales, Pour la Démocratie organisée. Par Georges Hostelet. Edité par l'auteur. 30, Avenue de la Floride, Bruxelles. 68 pages. Brussels: 1919.

THE JOY OF EDUCATION. By William Platt. Introduction by John Adams. 145 pages. G. Bell & Sons. London: 1920. 2/6 net.

THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE: A Study in Administration. By William L. Wanlass. Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science. 131 pages. Johns Hopkins Press. Baltimore: 1920.

THE FOREIGN TRADE OF CHINA. By Chong Su See. Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law. 451 pages. Columbia University. New York: 1919.

THE POLITICS OF THE PROLETARIAT: A Contribution to the Science of Citizenship based chiefly on the Sociology of Auguste Comte. By Malcolm Quin. 155 pages. Allen & Unwin. London: 1920. 5/- net.

PUBLIC SERVICES: Handbook of information on Social Service, revised and enlarged, published by the National Council of Social Service. 96 pages. P. S. King & Co. London: 1920. 2/- net.

SPIRITUALISM: Its Present Day Meaning. A Symposium, edited by Huntly Carter. 285 pages; six illustrations. T. Fisher Unwin. London: 1920. 18/- net.

THE GROUP MIND: A Sketch of the Principles of Collective Psychology with some Attempt to Apply them to the Interpretation of National Life and Character. By William McDougall. 21/- net. 304 pages. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge: 1920. (Will be reviewed in the next number of the *Sociological Review*.)

extent before the national state, so the international culture exists before the international state.

In modern times the claims of international society have been represented by a somewhat thin and narrow cosmopolitanism. The strength of the Nationalist movement of the 19th century was due to its being based on a sense of the past and on a deep and rich conception of the national tradition, while the typical internationalist too often tended to despise the spiritual heritage of the past and concentrated his attention too much on the mechanical adjustments of the industrial and scientific movement, and in general on the material progress which was transforming the world. Their conception of the new age was, so to speak, apocalyptic. They looked for the coming of a new culture which would be absolutely a new departure,—a break in spiritual tradition. As there was an unbridgeable gulf between the steam engine and the horse, so it seemed to them there could be nothing in common between the old civilizations based on religious ideals and the new material rationalist culture. The Englishman and the Hindu, putting off the old man and his superstitions, were to enter, new born, on equal terms, into the Kingdom prepared for them by Adam Smith and Herbert Spencer.

This habit of mind, if it still survives, is not characteristic of the present age. The most sceptical and the least traditionalist begin to realize that the new mechanism of our civilization has to make adjustment with the more perennial spiritual forces which have created every culture since the world began. That the great spiritual traditions of the past, in religion, philosophy and art are not only still alive, but stand out as the dominant realities of life, is becoming increasingly realized. And with that perception comes the problem of developing and applying these living realities with the greater powers and further knowledge we now have.

Any attempt to substitute an artificial cosmopolitan civilization for the cultural traditions which have moulded the thoughts and the lives of peoples for ages, not only makes for spiritual impoverishment and superficiality, but even reacts on the physical existence of a people.

European civilization of the 19th century type has proved a more deadly enemy to the native races which have been fully exposed to its influence, than famine, disease or war, and it has had a profoundly depressing effect even on races of high civilization, such as the Burmese or the Egyptians.

On this account it is seen that missionary activity must work from within by grafting a new spirit on to the traditional culture. Any attempt to convert people of a different race by dressing them

in trousers and teaching them the phraseology of British Liberalism is to create a being false to its own instincts, which must be either a monstrosity or a hypocrite. It is true that whole peoples have received a new religion imposed upon them from without, but this it would seem is only possible in the case of a really theocratic society, like Islam.

The true internationalism, like the true nationalism, bases itself on real social entities, which have been evolved in the course of ages. Everywhere we find local and national societies bound together by spiritual and cultural conditions which form them into a single civilization. Such civilizations are real societies which demand real loyalty from their members; and the relations of the nations towards them are similar to those of the counties and provinces to the national States of the Middle Ages. Underlying them there is usually a religion, as in the case of the great church-State, Islam, which is the most typical of all, but sometimes their basis is predominantly secular, as in the case of China.

These civilizations are the ultimate social realities and in the past they were like closed worlds which were hardly conscious of each other's existence. In the present age, however, the most complex of all these civilizations—that which was developed in the Mediterranean world and Western Europe—has attained to a world hegemony, and the other world cultures are more or less submitted to its influence.

It thus occupies a somewhat similar position to that which Hellenism attained among the cultures of the ancient world, and it may become in the future, as Hellenism did, the parent of a world civilization. Its first duty, however, lies towards itself. The international anarchy, which has been growing worse since the Renaissance and during the very centuries in which the organization of the national societies has been perfected, needs bringing to an end, and the society of nations of European civilization, in the old world and the new, calls for the fullest recognition.

This, however, is not a simple problem. It is true that our civilization is the direct descendant of both the Roman Empire and mediæval Christendom, and consequently has a religious as well as a political unity behind it, but this unity has been rent in pieces by racial and religious schism. The great divisions of Europe, the Latin, the Germanic and the Slavonic or East Slav peoples, each possess a different spiritual tradition, and are only united by the secular culture of modern Europe. The great question of the immediate future is how far the international spirit can overcome these greater divisions as well as national and local particularism.

The heaviest responsibility to the new age lies, it would seem,

upon Great Britain. The peculiar intermediate position historically and geographically which she occupies between the Latin and the Germanic peoples and between the Old World and the New, allocates to her a high rôle in the building up of an international order. As we have seen, the future of the world rests very largely on the great agricultural territories of North and South America and Australasia. And of these the greater parts are being filled up rapidly by English-speaking people, moulded by British institutions. If England were to conceive her mission in a narrow nationalistic sense, and were to attempt to organize her empire as a self-sufficient whole over against other national empires, the result could in the end hardly be other than disastrous. She is a trustee for Europe—at least for that part of Europe which cannot reproduce its culture in South America or Siberia, and it is her duty to prepare the new lands to receive the full European heritage through the contribution of the different national cultures.

This does not, of course, imply the creation of a cosmopolitan population in the colonies. The indiscriminate mixture of different races and nationalities brings with it the loss of social personality and only the worst elements are apt to survive. While English, Irish and Scandinavians can unite fruitfully in a new environment, the immigration of peoples of widely different race or civilization, e.g. the Polish Jews or the Armenians, causes acute social indigestion. The United States, which are, *par excellence*, the creation of the Exploitation period, are a remarkable example of the dangers of this state of things, and the problem of the assimilation of the Slav, the Levantine and the Jew is hardly less acute than that of the Negro in the Southern States.

Instead of immigrants from every corner of Europe being poured pell-mell into the great cities and industrial districts of the new world, each region should be settled deliberately, on the basis of its natural possibilities and the character of its actual population.

These are among the great problems that lie before the new age; but one fundamental question remains to be discussed on which the whole possibility of the co-operative ideal depends. If guidance, direction, control are to be distributed so that each part and organ of society performs its function freely as a living thing, and not part of a machine, there must be a living union, of mind and will between the society and its members, such as we can hardly conceive at present.

Under the old regime society was based on religion, and the unquestioning acceptance by all of one spiritual tradition and one moral ideal was a stronger uniting force than any political authority or organization.

In the modern State the mind of the average citizen is moulded by the government school and the popular press, and these give him views of life which at best may be called circuitous, and they stir him with ambitions rather than inspire him with ideals.

Religion still claims the right to direct men's lives, but it is to a great extent precluded from direct action on the secular world and is no longer a dominant social force. The ordinary life of the farm and the factory has little contact either with church or school, and so the daily work of mankind has been materialised and rendered both selfish and servile. Education in any real sense should be the nervous system of society, by which the whole organism is guided and kept in union with the spirit. It should be in touch on the one hand with the actual daily life of every citizen, on the other with the higher spiritual ideals which are the end and justification of every civilization.

Many movements in this direction have already been begun by schools of social reform, which collectively may be called the new humanism, but a profound revolution will have to take place if the present system is to be genuinely transformed.

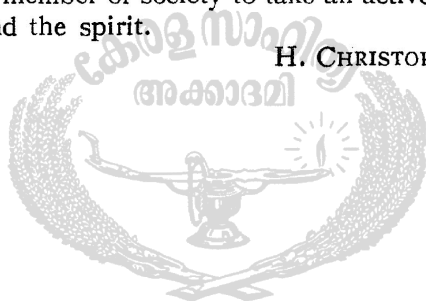
The idea of a standardised State education, centring round the examinations system, has entered deeply into men's minds, and the blasphemous conception of two educations—the liberal or ornamental, and the mechanical or utilitarian—is still largely dominant in England.

In a truly co-operative State, the school would be vitally and systematically connected first with the social unit that it serves, whether that be an agricultural village or an industrial guild; and secondly, with the larger regional unit or city with its richer many-sided social life, itself equipped with the completer educational institution we call the university. If the one aim of education were the complete and harmonious culture of the whole man, then the intellectual faculty would not as at present be favoured at the expense of either physical, artistic or moral development. And for the full enrichment of personality and community together is needed above all, an education based on a spiritual tradition. Under the present system religious instruction seems to the average man a singularly dead thing, and the question of religious education has come to be treated as a dry bone of sectarian controversy. But the fundamental problem is a very vital one. The spiritual faith and ideals of a man or a society—their ultimate attitude towards life—colour all their thought and action and make them what they are. It is true that the multiple sects of the English speaking peoples are largely historical relics, and no longer represent a fundamental religious attitude. Nevertheless different spiritual traditions do exist, and it is unjust to deprive them of free expres-

sion in education and social life. The adherent of the secular tradition which is now perhaps the dominant spiritual force in our civilization, naturally claims that education should harmonise with his view of life, and his interpretation of man's history, but only a bigot can demand that the mind of a Catholic or a Quaker should be forced into the same mould. In the long run, the idea of uniform State education is inseparable from a State religion and the penalization of religious dissent.

A free co-operative order which gives full liberty for the development of man in both his individual and his corporate life must likewise give free play to the spiritual forces by which alone humanity can realize its highest possibilities. The great hope for the future lies, after all, not so much in changes of social organization as in a spiritual renaissance. The curbing of the brutal economic struggle of the industrial age finds its justification not in the equal diffusion of material prosperity which was the goal of the philosophers of the industrial age, but in the opportunity it gives for every member of society to take an active share in the life of the mind and the spirit.

H. CHRISTOPHER DAWSON.



ON THE TRAINING OF THE REGULAR BRITISH OFFICER.¹

MUCH has been written during the last five years both in praise and criticism of the British officer, but no attempt, so far as I am aware, has yet been made to study psychologically the class character and average viewpoint of our military caste—the Regular British officer. Without such an analysis, discussion of any possible improvement in the training of this class of Government servant must remain more or less futile, so I trust it will not be considered superfluous to attempt to indicate the general mental attitude of the Regular officer, not only in relation to questions and affairs of military importance, but also with reference to progress of thought in the world of which the soldier still happens to form an integral part. Much material—chiefly of a personal character—will occur to everyone who, during the stress of the war, has himself been permitted to serve as an officer and has therefore had an opportunity of studying the Regular at close quarters; but as this might possibly be regarded as suffering from the handicap of civilian thought and interpretation, I will begin by drawing attention to certain observations on what constitutes a good soldier that can be found in a little book published in 1908 by Gale and Polden under the title of *Lessons from One Hundred Notes in Peace and War*. Similar statements could probably be found in any publication of a similar character, but I was led to choose this authority, first, because it happened to be one of the few books available when I happened to have both sufficient leisure and opportunity for studying my subject in the intimate environment of a prisoners of war camp; and, secondly, because I do not think anyone will be disposed to argue that the views of the distinguished General who happens to have been its author (Major-General—now Lieut.-General Sir—E. A. H. Alderson, then in command of the 6th Poona Division of the Indian Army), as well as of the other authority the author constantly quotes (Lord Wolseley), are not those commonly held by most Regular officers.

1. The larger questions in the Sociology of War and Peace are purposely evaded in this article, the issue being deliberately narrowed to certain problems in applied psychology. The paper was read before the Society in the autumn of 1919. Since then various decisions in military policy necessitate some minor adjustments in the detail of the text.—*Editor, Soc. Rev.*

General Alderson lays down the following as the main requisites of a good soldier¹ :—

1. Discipline.
2. Courage, and a stout heart.
3. Physical endurance, especially under privation or fatigue.
4. Instinctive knowledge of ground; and of how to make the best use of one's weapons—mental, human or material—under any circumstances.
5. Each individual must be thoroughly well grounded in his own work.

Now what do these signify from the psychological point of view?

As regards the first, Discipline, General Alderson supplies the necessary commentary by quoting a sentence from Lord Wolseley's *Story of a Soldier's Life*, "Discipline is founded on faith." That is to say, instinctive trust in the superior who can handle a body of men with obvious confidence in his power of successfully leading them as a corporate whole to a desired objective, no matter what the conditions may be.

Courage is doing one's duty in spite, possibly, of being afraid—in a word, self-responsibility; and to have a stout heart is to put up the best possible fight under adverse circumstances—not to give up positions without first using them to the utmost. Stoutness of heart thus depends on the possession of a sanguine outlook on life, without which no real progress is possible. It indicates a "get-on" temperament. "Either I will find a way or make one." Both courage and stoutness of heart are, of course, closely connected with the preceding requisite of Discipline, especially from the point of view of suggestion and the force of example; and, like discipline, they may be classed as instinctive, inasmuch as all three depend upon not allowing the possibility of mental choice to interfere with action.

Of the remaining desirable qualities for the soldiers, physical endurance is clearly an extremely useful endowment for a predatory animal; the fourth on the list is admittedly instinctive; while the fifth is precisely the co-operative function that ensures the continued existence of a hive of bees, or, in fact, any organized unit.

We thus see that all the qualities that General Alderson regards as essential elements in the character of a good soldier are inherently instinctive. The list is, in fact, an unconscious analysis of the primitive animal instinct of pugnacity as displayed by a class.

1. *Op. cit.*, pp. 4, 5, 6 (chiefly).

This being so, it is not surprising to find also the following remarks in General Alderson's book :—

- (1) "In battle, habit is everything" (e.g. in taking cover, adjusting rifle sights, and reforming quickly after action).
- (2) "Organization is the forerunner of success."
- (3) "Never give away a subordinate" (i.e., in other words, unity of command implies unity of responsibility). And
- (4) with special reference to officers, commending the following quotation from the autobiography of Lord Wolseley that has been already referred to, regarding that faculty by which we sense the feelings of others—the virtue of Tact. "Good pleasant manners, closely allied to firmness, a genial disposition, a real sympathy for the private soldier, and an intimate knowledge of human nature, are essential qualifications for the man who would command soldiers effectively anywhere."

As regards the last mentioned point, it may further be noted that just in the same way as tact and sympathy are necessary in dealing with one's own men, so, when a force is in touch with an enemy, successful tactics are largely a measure of the power of a Staff to checkmate the opposing Staff by guessing instinctively what moves their opponents intend to make, or what counter-offensive strokes the enemy will be unable to resist.

From what has already been said two principal deductions may be drawn :—

(1) That, in the organization of bodies of men for offensive and defensive military purposes, the chief stress, even up to recent years, was laid upon one thing, *viz.*, the utilization of that more primitive and less developed side of the human mind which we call Instinct.

(2) As a consequence of (1), the development of the intellectual side of the soldier, whether private or officer, was unduly neglected.

The inevitable result was that, in England at all events, practically no advance in military thought or procedure was evident from the time of the Napoleonic wars till the last decade of the 19th century, and the mentality of the army up to and even later than 1900 only found a parallel in that of certain of the most primitive classes in the British Isles. Let me quote a few passages from Chapters II and VI of Dr. W. S. Bruce's book on life among the fishing folk of the North-east of Scotland by way of illustration of what I mean :—

With the fishermen of the North-east of Scotland, feeling is the primitive form of consciousness, out of which all their intellectual life develops. Mental effects move only in the peri-

phery of their being. They pulsate with emotion. And though the intensity of the states of feeling is naturally subject to many oscillations, yet normally it is along the line of emotion and not on the plane of intellect that they move. . . . Their ideas are fused through and through with feeling and receive their decisive stamp thereby. . . .

Of the various æsthetic emotions they have great pleasure in rhythm. They are very musical, and no congregation in Scotland sings like a fisher congregation. They are fond of bright colours, their doors and windows being always painted in the brightest hues and often with great taste. The feeling of the sublime is also highly developed. But the other pole, the sense of the ludicrous, is conspicuous by its absence. . . . A humorous speech by a minister at a social meeting was spoken of in my hearing as "just trying to mak' a 'fule' o' the folks."

But the elementary feelings are warm and genuine. They are kind and helpful to one another. A case of severe sickness rouses the sincere sympathy of the whole village. For a death the entire community may be said to go into mourning.

The people [of the North-east] are somewhat shy and reticent. When you meet them, the speech at first is of the weather. They hide themselves, as every real man does, in their ordinary intercourse. It is only in confidential moments that they drop the mask and show their soul. . . .

The natural Conservatism of the Nor'-east is remarkable. Its very Liberalism is conservatism. It stands by it as its Fathers stood. It is very slow to change. Trawling came to Fife and Forfar, but it never was accepted in the Moray Firth. It is only slowly that the steam-drifter among the fishermen and the useful binder among the farmers are superseding the older customs.

I need not dwell upon the similarity of the mental state of these fisher folk with that of the average pre-war soldier. In the case of the soldier, comparative simplicity and reticence of thought is to be seen contrasted with love of brilliant uniforms, and a display of emotion through the agency of bands and the pomp of military funerals. Opinions may differ as to whether a sense of the ludicrous is lacking in the soldier, but one cannot help recalling the impression that while many Regular officers used to imagine they could see a joke, this was generally only if they themselves made it; while in the case of the rank and file I need only refer to the invincible seriousness with which the average pre-war Regular Tommy sat through the endless series of appallingly sentimental ditties or recitations that usually made up his evening

"gaff." As for army conservatism—except perhaps so far as it takes the form of providing Regulars with the best billets, and, needless to say, resisting to the last hotel all attempts by the civil authorities to reduce office establishments—it may possibly be said to have found its Armageddon in the late war.

Realization of the fact that this primitive mental attitude was hardly in accordance with the progress of the age only slowly dawned on the military authorities in England. Colonel Henderson, at the Staff College, sounded the first note of warning in connection with the need for greater attention to the comparative study of strategy and tactics (from 1892 onwards), but it required the more obvious facts of smokeless powder and long range firearms in the South African War to bring about any detailed reconsideration of the methods of army training and organization. Even then, in 1903, Lord Wolseley was able to write "Things must, under present circumstances, always go wrong with us in any serious war,"¹ and although the South African War caused greater changes in our army than Wolseley could at first imagine to be the case, yet there is little doubt that it was not any army machine that constituted the decisive factor in the great war against Germany, but the unsuspected fighting (and, incidentally, thinking) qualities of the modern Briton and American, freely placed at the disposal of the greatest of modern military thinkers, Marshal Foch and his General Staff. Since the South African War, it is true some emphasis has been laid in British military circles on individual initiative and on the need for satisfying that instinctive call for greater personality and character that war always give rise to, but at all events, until recently, the Regular officer continued to be trained without any reference to the possible need for intelligent thought in his profession, or use of the imagination. Donald Hankey's summary² of the working and result of the Woolwich (or Sandhurst) system in the post-African war period is so much to the point that I cannot resist quoting from it at some length.

"The motto (of 'the Shop') was, and is, 'Unhasting yet unresisting work,' and the curriculum was almost exclusively utilitarian. The chief subjects were mathematics, gunnery, fortification, mechanics, electricity, physical training, riding and drill. None of these is calculated to widen the sympathies or cultivate the imagination. They are calculated to produce competent gunners and sappers. Our day was fully occupied, and in the two hours of leisure between dinner and lights out one had

1. *The Story of a Soldier's Life*, i. p. 223.

2. *A Student in Arms*, pp. 162—165 (1916). The comparison with, and analysis of, the contemporary product of Oxford that immediately precede and follow what I have quoted also deserve a reference.

no inclination to embark on fresh subjects of study. The discipline was strict, and ethically the value of the life was that it inculcated the ideas of alertness, duty and honour. To do one's job thoroughly and quickly, and to be quite straight-forward about it if one had omitted any duty, was the code to which we were expected to conform. Religion was represented by a parade-service on Sundays. In so far as it meant anything, it was recognition that God was King of kings, and as such deserved His weekly meed of homage. . . If there was little opportunity for the study of the 'humanities,' and little inducement to mysticism in religion, there was no encouragement at all to the development of the æsthetic faculties. Our rooms were hopelessly bare and hideous—they crushed individuality of taste most effectually. Finally, one learnt not to show physical fear of nervousness. The plank bridge across the roof of the 'gym.' ensured an appearance of courage, while the 'snookers' concert,' where one had to sing a song in front of a hall full of yelling seniors, was the cure for a display of nerves.

"The result of such a schooling is distinctive. The average officer is a man with a good deal of simplicity. His code is simple. He sees life as a series of incidents with which he has to deal practically. It is not his job to ask why. He has to get on and do something about it. If he does his work well, that is all that is required of him. His interests are practical. They relate to his profession, his men, and his recreations. His pleasures are simple. They are the pleasures of the body rather than the mind—sport, games, sex. His relations with his fellow men are simple and defined. To his superiors in rank he must be respectful, at all events outwardly. He must support them even when he thinks they are mistaken. To his equals he must be a good comrade. To his men he must be a sort of father, encouraging, correcting, stimulating, restraining, as the occasion demands. They are quite definitely his inferiors. It is not surprising if he lack sympathy with Socialism, Idealism, Mysticism, and all other 'isms.' Like everyone else, he has the limitations of his virtues."

It is, however, these often very exasperating limitations that grates on the world at the present day when the body politic has barely escaped violent shipwreck and when it is being more and more felt that no man has a claim to be a privileged servant of the State unless he can show proof of his right to this position of honourable distinction by efficiency at least equal to that which would enable him to retain a well-paid post in a private firm. Successful though the war has turned out for the British side, not even the best friend of the Regular officer would venture seriously to argue that this was due to any particular intelligence displayed

by our directing Staff. From Mons to Mesopotamia and from Gaza to the Rhine, the cry has ever been, "Oh! for a German General Staff!" and one's spirit turns with something more than impatience from such statements to the contrary as those that were permitted to appear last March in paragraph 21 of Field Marshal Haig's Final Despatch.¹ And yet, at the same time Sir Douglas Haig (or whoever it was who drafted paragraph 23 of the same Despatch) cannot help giving evidence to the fact that it was by no means essential for a successful soldier to have been a Regular. Even a schoolmaster—for whom the author of the Final Despatch exhibits an instinctive respect, though hardly recognizing such a type as a fit and suitable person in ordinary circumstances to command a company or act as adjutant—has not only accomplished these feats (might it not have been added, many times over?), but also succeeded in joining the august circle of Generals; while an editor is further recorded to have actually achieved the pivotal position of senior Staff Officer to a Regular division. Exceptional times naturally call for exceptional men; but these and other admissions certainly suggest the desirability of recruiting officers in future from a wider field than that afforded by the average collection of English public school candidates for the army with their distinctly superior attitude to those who are not of their own class, for their mental attitude is not only averse to hard work but is even disinclined to think at all about the problems of life.

The encouragement of a higher degree of intelligence among Regular officers is indeed so vital a factor in the maintenance of an efficient and progressively minded army that it may not, perhaps, be considered out of place to attempt to supplement what has already been said by an outline of the measures that appear to be desirable to improve the selection and training of the Regular officer, with the ultimate aim of producing a type more in harmony with present day conditions and modes of thought. I assume in what follows that at the present stage of the development of our political and moral system, universal disarmament is extremely unlikely, and, further, it is postulated that British military policy in the incipient future will be determined by a theory of insurance against any threat of aggression on the part of other nations.

1. "The principles of command, Staff work, and organization elaborated before the war have stood the test imposed upon them and are sound. The military educated officer has counted for much, and the good work done by our Staff Colleges during the last twenty years has had an important influence upon the successful issue of the war." . . . "In short, the longer the war lasted the more emphatically has it been realized that our original organization and training were based upon sound principles. The danger of altering them too much, to deal with some temporary phase, has been greater than the risk of adjusting them too little."

There are various indications that point to all military organization and training being entrusted to a Staff Corps of Regular officers, with the assistance of a select cadre of N.C.O.'s and men. This Staff, let us suppose, will finally replace the Regular Army of to-day. The basis of the Militia would in such a case be laid in the upper classes of high schools, in which—following the lead of Australia—all boys between 15 and 18 (the ultimate school leaving age under the Education Bill of 1918) would be put through a preliminary course of drill, field work, and musketry. Proceeding on these assumptions, it may be supposed that on reaching 18 the ex-cadet will pass on to the actual Militia, and from this age up to 38, he will be liable (unless physically unfit) to be called up for compulsory training in camp for one month in each year. The ordinary officers of the Militia will be supplied from the University Officers' Training Corps, in which all university students must enrol, and these corps will also serve as recruiting grounds for Regular officers. The selection will be made by examination from amongst those who wish to take up soldiering as their profession. Candidates should have done two years' satisfactory work in their individual corps and in addition have succeeded in obtaining a joint certificate from their Colonel College President, and late Headmaster that they are of suitable character and attainments, that they possess in sufficient degree the quality of leaders, and in particular that they give promise of the power of imparting knowledge to others. The selected officers, after completing their university course by taking their degrees—preferably in some school of literature or history that will tend to develop the imagination—will then pass on to a Staff College for a further two years' course—chiefly in languages and military subjects. On passing out, pay and promotion will be dependent on the passing of quinquennial examinations (or, in lieu thereof, submission of approved contributions to the science or history of their profession; and at the age of 45 a reasonable minimum pension—say, of £400 per annum—will be available. Beyond this age, retention and promotion will be entirely by selection, the individual officer's record being reported on and considered triennially. The permanent cadre of N.C.O.'s and men will be similarly made by recommendation and examination from the rank and file of the Militia, and both promotion while in service and retention after 45 will be on similar lines to those of officers. It is essential that the standard of education among N.C.O.'s and men should be maintained and improved by continuation classes similar to those already started in the Rhine Army of Occupation, and commissions from the ranks should be liberally given to men who show sufficient evidence of becoming capable

military instructors. Finally, to enable men so promoted to maintain their position, as well as to nullify the argument that rich people—even of mediocre brains—must be recruited as officers to staff the branches of cavalry and artillery, all necessary equipment should be provided free, instruction in the Staff College (or University, after selection) should be gratis, expenses in regiments should be cut down to a minimum, and a living salary paid, sufficient to enable officers to marry, if they so desire, by the age of 30.

So much for the framework of our New Model. As regards details of reform in the way of training, we have already indicated the weakest point in the present schemes of work at Woolwich and Sandhurst, viz., that whereas the youth who goes up to the University has his imagination stimulated and his outlook on life broadened, his brother cadet is merely confined in the limited outlook on life that he has, in all probability, already acquired in his public school. A few, naturally, conquer their environment and regain a broader view of life at the Staff College; but seeing that, *ex hypothesi*, all Regular officers will need in future to be of *p.s.c.* standard so that they may readily take the part of Sir William Napier's Captain-Instructors to the battalions of citizen soldiers—officers and men—who will be periodically gathered together for training, it is imperatively necessary that each Regular officer should not only be a picked man, but that he should also be a well-educated man in the broadest sense of the term. This latter can best be achieved by such a course as has been outlined above, in which the University takes the place of Woolwich and Sandhurst as the officers' *Alma Mater*, and is made the foundation on which everything else is built. An equally important result from the point of view of the practical psychologist is that optimism of mood is likely to be blended in the future officer with a certain degree of that pessimistic factor in judgment necessary for criticism—thus safeguarding our New Model from that unreasoning optimism both of mood and judgment—which, in the opinion of competent observers, was probably the grand defect in the German officer's training, and which also supplies an explanation for the hostility to innovation and suggestion from outside, that may still be detected in our own Army.

Once the would-be officer has acquired the spirit of mental awakesness which is the life breath of every University, the ideal in all subsequent instruction may well be that referred to in the passage quoted with approval from the first of Colonel Henderson's military classics (*Spichenen*) by Lord Roberts in his Introduction to Henderson's *Science of War*. "A strong spirit of initiative, correct and deep-rooted instinct and unity of action, are the qualities

which are essential for the successful leading of the fighting line; and these are created by sound general principles 'being engrafted into the flesh and blood, thereby securing intellectual decision; by a careful training of the capacity for independent action; by the uniform tactical education of the officers, and by the constant practice of battle exercises.'

To sum up the argument; while on the one hand the writer's chief aim has been to analyse from a psychological point of view the average character of the pre-war Army officer, an attempt has also been made to apply the results obtained to the possible formation in the near future of a *corps d'élite* of Regular officers—the production of men with personality and an intelligent spirit of leadership. Instinct alone as the guiding light of the military officer has had its day. It must now be supplemented by intellect, not only in the officer's own course of training, but also, and more particularly, when he passes on in his turn to mould and direct the combative instincts of his fellow countrymen. It is only by establishing intellect as the necessary and essential ally of instinct that we may hope in the end to produce the ideal officer—synthetic rather than analytic in temperament—who, faced by no matter what military problem, will forthwith resolve it by decisive action.

I. E. S.



THE ORIGIN AND CURE OF "THE BAD BOY."

TILL he reaches the age of fourteen, the boy of working-class parents is regarded as a child. A beneficent State educates him, looks after his health, hinders his exploitation, and if necessary feeds him. As soon as he is fourteen all this goes. There are agencies to help him, but unless he commits a crime, there is nothing to control him. He is in nearly all respects regarded as a man.

Yet how remote from manhood is a youth at the age of fourteen ! Fourteen is, roughly, the beginning of the period of adolescence, and in the making of a man, adolescence is for moral development as perilous a time as is infancy for organic growth. It is the time, also, of the greatest opportunities : the body can then receive its high development, the mind is most receptive, the soul most alive to influences good and bad. The years from fourteen to eighteen are the crucial years of most boys' lives. And yet this is precisely the period when they are most neglected by the Community in its general educational aspects.

There is a wide tendency to-day to form organisations and pass pious resolutions, to form committees, and then to think the whole duty appertaining to that question has been done. Yet citizenship does not consist merely in the possession of right, but in the performance of obligations and the rendering of service to the Community. What mattered most in a man's life was not what he did in the way of success or failure, but on what he was at the end. His work might have a great effect upon that, but the measure of the real success of a man was not whether he could point to this or that great achievement, but what he himself was as its result. Motive had more to do with what a man became than had the work he undertook.

To-day the State takes a direct interest in all children both physically and in educational matters, and though voluntary effort has still a large and free field of operation, that field is coming more and more under the surveillance of the State. At no time, perhaps, has more public attention been bestowed upon the welfare of the mass of the people from their birth to the grave than at present ; most would agree that, in regard to the hours and conditions of their work, the sanitation of their dwellings, the air they breathe, the food they eat, the education they receive, and the medical and surgical treatment at their command, they are better

off than at any time since the great industrial development of a hundred years ago. Further, the economic conditions are also better, or at least were so up to the war, and doubtless still are for all the higher ranks of the working classes. Unemployment occurs in periodical waves, and of these there have been several during recent years, but they have not been greater or more prolonged than at former periods.

Eugenists are supposed to hold the opinion that heredity counts for everything, and that the influence of the environment, if it exists at all in net result upon the sequence of generations, is so infinitesimal that it may be entirely ignored. On the other hand, the Environists hold heredity from the social point of view all but negligible; that individuals are born with equal potentialities, and the inequalities which subsequently appear are due to the surroundings. They consequently seek the remedy for human and social defects in an improvement of the environment. It may be that such restricted views as these are only held by the most extreme protagonists of either school; nevertheless they mark two distinct lines of thought which are implicit, if not always explicit, in the great body of propaganda and suggested policy, and they serve as a convenient standpoint from which the question may be discussed.

If, for example, the health problems connected with maternity and infancy could be solved, should we not go far towards solving some of the main problems of civilisation itself? Adverse surroundings in the early years of life, such as insufficient or improper food, impure air, want of sun, and anti-hygienic conditions generally, have a combined effect. Further, considering the extremely plastic state of the brain during the early years of life, how great must be the effect of the moral training and general upbringing of the child upon his character and mental development, and so upon the course of his life.

Squalid homes devoid of any attraction, together with an "atmosphere" suggestive of evil, cannot fail of their baneful effect on the plastic nature of young children. In such "homes" any shift is made for the organised family meal, which should be a main ritual of domestic life. There is rickety furniture, comfortless and an eye-sore. A vitiated atmosphere permeates the house through lack of cleanliness. Add to these deleterious influences, slovenliness of person, and the use of vulgar, irascible, or even obscene language, and the wonder is that the fledglings of such nests ever learn to attempt any kind of spiritual flight at all.

Why do youths frequent our dismal or garish streets so largely? Surely it is lack of inner interests that leads to this apparently aimless parading. An innate sense of adventure that becomes dominant at the onset of youth, drives the adolescent into

the nearest paths that promise an exploration of life. Seemingly an open approach to the unveiling of life's hidden mysteries, the street speaks with the voice of allurements. What wonder that youth responds to this prospect of attainment.

We all disclaim the least pretension to genius; but we all have a secret sense of the might-have-been. Educationists assure us that, given a fair chance, we might have known creative distinction. This is cold comfort for ourselves, though it may lead us to take better thought for our children. There is more personal appeal in the suggestion which modern psychology is beginning to offer, that there may yet be means of piecing together the *dissecta membra poetæ* within ourselves, as well as the brighter but more distant and contingent prospect of creative fires in the heart of the next generation. And our interest is not wholly selfish, for we cannot educate for genius while we remain mediocre. In normal times too much is left to the school and other outside agencies. Parents are only too willing to delegate in fact, if not in word, their proper and natural direction of their children. The school has its function in the disciplining of children, but the child spends only about one-fifth of the available time each week in school, and even a less amount if annual holidays are included in the calculation. In war time the loss of domestic control was accentuated by the withdrawal from home of fathers who went away to serve their country. Mothers, left with this added burden piled on all their other cares and anxieties, naturally were driven in many cases by an intolerable strain, into negligence and even indifference. Lateness at school, frequently due to the quite intelligible failure of such over-burdened mothers to get up early in the morning, was a first downwards step of real significance. It would often be followed by the children's descent into habits of recklessness and all the consequences thereof in the growth of vice and crime and further, in how many centres were these evil effects intensified by the mother's withdrawal also from the home as a war-worker?

In discussing such subjects, one is faced, at the start, with the difficulty of determining the question: "Who and what is a criminal"? One school maintains that the criminal is merely a more or less ordinary person who, on occasions, offends against the social regulations of the State, and is punished, *i.e.*, painfully affected, by the State therefor. Another school regards a criminal as an abnormal person who may be classed either as "immoral" in the sense that he deliberately infringes a particular law, or as unmoral in that he is mentally incapable of perceiving a distinction between propriety and impropriety of social conduct, and who, in respect of his anti-social behaviour, must be regarded as insane. A third school, composed of the eminent judges who are period-

cally engaged in interpreting section 47 of the Judicature Act, 1873 ("any criminal cause or matter"), hold every individual a criminal who may be legally punished, not merely in order to compel obedience to a judicial order, but solely and exclusively in respect of an antecedent act of forbearance.

And the weakest still go to the wall, for Borstal will not welcome them: even its gates are closed against young offenders who have not clear brains and well-set-up bodies. This procedure is not only cruel, but is arrant folly; for few will deny that no sensible reduction of our prison population will occur till the State takes some thought and makes some reasonable provision for its criminally inclined defective youths. At present, State and philanthropic bodies alike are given to offering their advantages to youths who can do without them, and refusing their help to those who have greatest need. Society offers little to these youths but a continual round of short imprisonments, unless indeed they qualify for longer sentences. The conception of what may be called reformatory education goes back into the eighteenth century. The hope of the reformatory school is to reclaim the more difficult or dangerous types of child delinquents; the industrial school gives shelter to young beginners in delinquency, or to those whose home environment is, as it were, criminal or quasi-criminal. The late Mr. C. E. B. Russell, H.M. Chief Inspector, sought "to secure the best possible conditions of life in all the schools throughout the kingdom," and he was anxious to apply the principles of the Little Commonwealth in the schools.

There can be little doubt that this country lags far behind many of the Continental nations in its methods of dealing with the wastrels of civilisation. We are still in the bonds of that individualistic superstition which held that, if the affairs of men were left alone, virtue would always come out on top and vice disappear because of its obviously unpleasant accompaniments. A youth who did wrong must suffer, and the matter might be left there. Attempts to beguile him back into the paths of honesty were regarded as so many bribes or sources of illicit gains whose glamour would be to others an attraction irresistible.

The public conscience was first stirred by Lombroso, who preached the mistaken doctrine that the criminal was atavistic and could be detected by his physical peculiarities. Criminal statistics covering a whole country even now are almost unknown outside Great Britain, and Lombroso and his followers were building their startling theories upon a few "freaks" selected at haphazard from the prisons. According to this extreme school the criminal is born, not made, and is, in fact a reversion to the "painted savage." In those days they knew as little about the "painted

savage" as they did about delinquent man. Though the pendulum has touched grotesque extravagances at either end of its swing, there are certainly in Europe saner views on the treatment of crime than there were twenty years ago.

Altruistic sentiment needs to be provided with opportunity for its exercise and encouragement to make way for the play of the higher sanctions, under which disinterested actions and propensities are most likely to awaken and flourish. Here it is that the magnetic personal influence of those in command can exert an effect almost omnipotent in its extent and depth. The tact which remembers that you can never displace one emotion except by another awaits its opportunity to substitute creative deeds for the impulse to avenge personal pique by vindictive punishment. A boy or girl, recently subject to school discipline and having had little pocket money, is suddenly unfettered. The boy in particular hears adults swear, and concludes he must do likewise or, at least, he is influenced by what he frequently hears and thus becomes addicted to the habit. His elders smoke; and he, being an imitative creature, does likewise. He has money of his own earning, but with little discretion as to how to deal with it; and it appears to be no one's business to supervise or advise him. How natural, therefore, that he should develop a habit of reckless spending or worse.

The slum means the prevalence and permanence of pauper conditions. The permanence of any conditions implies a state and the prevalence of an evil state instead of mitigating serves to accentuate all that is ill. Hence in the slums men and women exist in an evil state, and the worst feature of slum existence is the chronic lowering of the moral standard. If therefore, parents, teachers and preachers fail in the discharge of their office, it behoves him, who respects his power of reason, to use the word "Wilful" very warily. Before it is possible to measure the degree of guiltiness of him, whose life is spent amid abnormal and incongruous circumstances, whose wants of body perpetually clash against the needs of his soul, there are many points to be reckoned. To the admitted moral inefficiency of Home, School, State and Church, in dealing with the general conditions which might be called "slumdom," we have to add the more positive inducements towards errancy of youth. These aggravations include a generous supply of cheap and rude amusements, and trashy literature, which have their necessary effect in sapping the power, for, and interest in, steady, sustained work; the hire-purchase and credit systems are perhaps an inevitable accompaniment of our present financial system and invite persons to live beyond their means, and so in a way weaken the natural tendency to thrift.

Can the starvation of the body ever be separable from the starvation of the soul? To answer that question in too sweeping a manner would be at once to lodge oneself in inextricable difficulty. Examples by the score would instantly be thrown in challenge of a general statement. One would be reminded of the career of the late Francis Thompson, now our world-famed poet. Robert Louis Stevenson would be cited by another critic to set forth how a strong mind may rise above a weak body, and yet another might quote Stevenson's trenchant words used in description of a man of splendid physical endowments, "He had the form of a Grecian god and the soul of a fatted sheep."

Physical Unfitness and Mental Unfitness go hand in hand, and therewith refined feeling becomes deadened, and the will unstable and weak. No less than about seventy per cent. of boys sent to industrial and reformatory schools are below the standard of education of boys of their years, but to make up arrears in the three "R.s" constitutes the least difficult part of their training: the crux in their reclamation is to uplift their ideals, to remodel their conscience, and to instil firmness of will. The judgment of the teacher, already quoted, states of these boys "They can learn nothing." Certified as "unfit for prison discipline," yet everlastingly in prison; not fit for liberty, yet constantly thrust into liberty; homeless, hopeless, friendless, battered from pillar to post, eyesores to humanity, they tread the vicious circle.

Clearly the first condition of treatment is to understand the genesis of such types. As already stated, the older anthropologists do not give much aid in this diagnosis. Their analysis was too simple and facile. Lombroso, for instance, argued from the frequency of tattooing among prisoners that they are unconsciously reproducing the habits of savage ancestors, without regard to the facts that tattooing is also prevalent among sailors and that crime is almost unknown among savages, who are far more obedient to customary law than we are to the laws made by our legislatures. Again the earlier social psychologists were also given to similar explanations of simplicist character. Tarde was given to explaining every social phenomenon by the doctrine of imitation. Thus, poaching is the imitation of the sport enjoyed by the lord of the manor; theft the imitation of the habits of predatory, mediæval barons. We have Quetelet and the other statisticians arguing convincingly from the figures of convicted criminals, quite forgetting that the number of convictions is but a small and variable proportion of the number of crimes committed. Amongst popular explanations, perhaps the most frequent is to assign the negligence of parents as the chief cause. With a fine sweep of the hand they brush every factor aside. Thus Mr. Thomas Holmes, for many

years missionary to the London Police Courts, writes :—" I am persuaded that it is not the poverty of the parents, not the environments of the children, not the possession of criminal instincts that lead the great bulk of boys to go wrong, but the utter indifference and incapability of parents."

When one tries to piece together all the shreds of verified knowledge available to trace the genesis of crime, the task is exceedingly difficult. Yet from the comprehensive studies of recent years, certain aspects stand out conspicuously. For instance, it is ascertained that thirteen is the age of greatest delinquency among boys and fifteen among girls. Again it is agreed that, roughly speaking, there are two classes of criminal: the accidental and the habitual—the man who is betrayed into a solitary crime, and the man who makes crime a profession and lives by it. There is also available a great mass of data bearing on the correlation of physical, vital, and social conditions in determining the life history of individuals. For instance, it is now generally admitted that not only the health, but also the age, of the mother has an influence upon the child's vitality and physique; and it seems probable that this is due to the fact that the maternal capacity for nourishing the embryo requires some time to attain its maximum, and then undergoes a gradual decline. Again, children born and reared in city slums are on the average smaller than those of similar stocks brought up under more healthy conditions, and a great acceleration of development takes place when they are removed to more healthy surroundings. Youths who pass the greater part of their day in stuffy offices, ill-ventilated workshops, insanitary houses and factories, or in coal mines, do not develop to the same extent as those brought up under more hygienic conditions. Severe illness operates to check the growth of the child, and sometimes to such an extent that even when recovery has taken place, the arrears are never fully made up.

In further illustration of the complexities introduced by social conditions, may be taken the reaction of the public school boy and the slum boy to physical punishment. It has been pointed out that to the one pain is a tonic—to the other an added misery which hardens the heart. In practical application of such observations, it may be noted that in the Birmingham Children's Court the use of the birch has apparently been entirely abandoned.

The great mass of criminals belong to the poorer classes, and poverty in its massive contemporary form is a correlate of our competitive industrial system, as also are the current forms of vagrancy, prostitution, alcoholism and "militarism." How all these are breeding grounds for criminals is obvious enough. Even many aspects of sexual crimes have by the ingenious analyses of

Freudian investigators been correlated with the economic phases of recent and contemporary evolution.

Thus it is being more and more widely recognised that every abnormal or delinquent child represents some failure of function in one or more social agencies—home, school, Church, State. And with this clearer diagnosis of evil as defect of life goes a mode of treatment that increasingly seeks for preventives and remedies in removing inhibitions, and liberating the pent-up energies of life. The general aim of such constructive measures is well put by Dr. Eliot who writes : " In modern juvenile Courts the children's lives are interpreted and treated in terms of heredity and environment, every means, from a surgical operation to friendship, being used to repress the abnormal and release the normal expression of their energy."

CLAUDE C. H. WILLIAMSON.



LEPLAY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.

By DOROTHY HERBERTSON, B.A.

Chapter I.

CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH.

"WHATEVER I may have done in this matter" wrote Cardinal Manning at the end of the great dock strike of 1889, "has been due to the counsels and teaching of my illustrious master, Leplay." Who then was Leplay? The ordinary English reader does not know, but remarks that the name sounds French.

If we ask the ordinary Frenchman he can tell us little more. One man knows, for instance, that Leplay was a Senator and Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour; another thinks that he was rather a conservative and old-fashioned person and a devout Catholic; a third remembers he was very distinguished in his own sciences of mineralogy and metallurgy; another has heard something about him in connection with the Great Exhibition; another knows that he had travelled a great deal; someone else thinks he wrote something about the working classes. These answers do not, it is true, explain what Leplay had to do with Cardinal Manning and the Dock Strike, but their diversity shows at least that he was a man of varied activities and that he must in his time have played a notable part in the world.

Pierre Frederic Guillaume Leplay was born on April 11th, 1806, at La Riviere Saint Sauveur, a village of some size on the left bank of the Seine, between the port of Honfleur and the forest of Brotonne. His father, who died while he was still a child, held an unimportant post in the revenue service. His mother was a woman of great strength of character and of a profoundly religious nature. Her influence over her son was deep and permanent, and may be measured by the intensity of his own religious convictions throughout his life.

The little boy was born in stirring times, full of glory to the few, and of misery to the many. The prolonged struggle between France and England had ruined the fishing industry of the Norman coast, and the child's earliest memories were of the privations of that simple, honest, frugal fisher folk. The story may be told in his own words.

"My earliest memories," he writes, "carry me back to the sufferings of the fishing community at the hands of the British fleet, which kept the whole coast blockaded; to the constant agitation caused by the action of stragglers from the fleet which made frequent descents on our coasts either to commit acts of aggression or to smuggle contraband goods; and to the sudden moves my father was called upon to make to frustrate such attempts. The old sailors consoled themselves for these humiliations by fighting over again the victories won in the war which ended in 1793. I was never weary of listening to their tales, and it was at their hearths that I learned my first lessons of patriotism. As soon as my little limbs were strong enough for the task I made one of the troops of children who day by day brought to their poverty-stricken homes such booty as they had got on gleaning, fishing, hunting or fruit-gathering excursions. I threw myself so eagerly into

1. As a step towards the popularization of his name and work in English-speaking countries the spelling Leplay instead of Le Play has been ventured upon.—*Ed., Soc. Rev.*

these pursuits, which have often been the recreations of my later years; that, with the assistance of my comrades I soon gained sufficient skill to enable me to contribute somewhat to our modest resources. Never shall I forget with what indescribable pleasure I shared in an attack which we made with our sticks on a shoal of shad stranded at low water in a shallow just in front of La Vacquerie, on the outskirts of the forest."

This was in the spring of 1810, when the little boy was only four years old. In the following winter, which was long and severe, his work was to collect firewood and other fuel, and as a reward his mother helped him to read a "big book," in which he was greatly interested. The hard lessons of these childish years were never forgotten. The child learned, and the man remembered, that the wealth of a family is measured not by money but by that body of collective resources which later was called "real wages." Firewood, fruits and similar wild produce are a veritable treasure trove to many a struggling family, and a scanty wage goes further when eked out in this way. Not least among the misfortunes of the city poor is the fact that they are obliged to buy everything out of their earnings. Had the Norman fisher folk been in a similar case, most of them must have starved.

In 1811 Leplay's father died, worn out by the struggles and hardships of his life. This event brought to Honfleur a sister of the dead man, who had married well and was living in Paris in the Rue de Grammont. The marriage had proved childless, and the charm and intelligence of the little fellow, now entering his sixth year, so delighted both husband and wife that they carried him back with them to Paris. There the boy spent the next four years. Great indeed was the change, from poverty to affluence, and from the little fishing village to the splendour of the capital. But the child's heart sank at the first sight of Paris. He pined for the forests and orchards and fishing boats of his beloved Normandy, and, above all, for the freedom of his country life. The happy reading lessons out of the "big book" at his mother's knee were exchanged for the stupid drill of a bad school at which for the next four years he was supremely miserable. Forty children were shut up for seven hours a day in one close room, and if a hapless scholar grew sleepy or inattentive in the poisoned air his wandering attention was sharply recalled by the cane. The little prisoner, who had been so quick to learn the country lore when he had something real to do and a good reason for doing it, and who had been the friend of every boy and girl and every man and woman at home, learned nothing worth while at this wretched school and made not a single friend.

Fortunately his home was happy and his education there was a reasonable one. His uncle and aunt were persons of culture as well as of wealth, and their house was the resort of a society in which there lingered much of the polished wit, the intellectual culture, and the social grace of the ancien régime. "Night after night," writes Leplay, "my uncle, a man about fifty, used to gather together old schoolfellows, men born in a good position, who, less fortunate than himself, had found themselves after the disasters of the Revolution without either family or fortune. They were bound together by a friendship dating from their schooldays, by a common love of literature, and by a deep interest in those international developments which were then proceeding with such extraordinary rapidity. These ties were cemented by a spirit of patriotism which grew stronger as our national independence was more and more compromised by the reverses of our armies. Other attractions were an excellent and hospitable table, a fine collection of books which formed the chief ornament of the salon, reading, conversation, the presence of visitors from abroad, and an occasional game of cards. Such a milieu was well fitted to stimulate my intelligence. After my second winter my passion for

reading, which my relations judiciously kept within limits, helped me to forget the physical weariness of city life. I was made the librarian of our little group. On occasion I took the fourth hand at the card table to everybody's satisfaction."

Among his uncle's friends were two who felt a special interest in the boy and devoted themselves, more or less systematically, to his education. This they endeavoured to do, partly by directing his reading, and partly by answering the strings of questions which arose out of the books he read or the conversations he overheard. The surnames of these gentlemen he never knew, for his uncle always called them by their first names. One, of whom he speaks as *The Scholar*, was an ex-magistrate, who had been forced to earn his living as a teacher, both in France and abroad. His love of literature amounted to a passion, and his talent for reading aloud contributed not a little to the success of many a pleasant evening. In politics he was an admirer of Rousseau, the Encyclopædists and the Girondins. The other was *The Gentleman*, also by birth a man of fortune and family, who had lost everything at the Revolution except his life, which he had saved by expatriating himself. His exile had been spent in Germany, and he had conceived the warmest admiration for the people and institutions of that country. His favourite theme was the salutary influence of religion on individual happiness and national prosperity. To the spread of irreligion and the decay of the governing classes he attributed the storm of revolution which had burst upon France, sweeping all before it. He had seen with his own eyes the corruption of many of the French refugees at Coblenz, Cologne, and other German towns, and he maintained that it had gone far to justify the excesses of the Revolution even in the eyes of the nation which had granted its victims hospitality. His third "master," to use Leplay's own phrase, was his uncle, who represented a third phase of opinion. Not less convinced than the others of the bankruptcy of the *ancien régime*, financially and morally, he looked to Napoleon as the saviour of France, not merely on account of his administrative capacity. All three were well-bred men of the world, types, each in his own way, of what had been best in old France. From such teachers the boy imbibed a passionate love of literature and history and that fine sense of honour which makes *noblesse oblige* its watchword. This, he heard daily, was the spirit which should animate the noble and wealthy, and that had it not been well-nigh dead in France that unhappy country would have been spared the horrors of the Revolution. All this made a lasting impression on his mind and doubtless led him in after years to lay so much stress on the influence and responsibilities of owners of land and employers of labour.

Such a life, however, congenial as it was in many ways, was too serious and sedentary for a child. The summers broke in upon it and brought him back from the world of books and speculation to the world of observation. They were spent in the country, where the boy betook himself with joy to his old pursuits, helping gardener, shepherd, woodcutter, fisher and hunter in their work and in gathering the lore of their craft. Thus unconsciously, he was fitting himself to look at life, not with the unseeing eye of the student accustomed only to the printed page, but with the understanding eye of one to whom its activities were familiar from long experience.

The death of his uncle in 1815 broke up the home in Paris, and Frédéric, now in his tenth year, turned to his own village. The downfall of Napoleon had put an end to the war and had restored prosperity to Normandy. For the next seven years Leplay lived with his mother, taking the humanity classes at the Collège du Havre and preparing for his baccalauréate. His leisure hours were spent in botanising, hunting and fishing, and making long excursions about the busy industrial district of the Lower Seine. He graduated as *Bachelier-es-lettres* in 1823.

Chapter II.

LEHRJAHR.

So far the education of Leplay had been singularly harmonious and complete. Born at a critical moment in the history of his country, wherein the horrors of foreign war were added to the internal dissensions and hatreds bequeathed by the Revolution, he had seen the gradual return of peace and prosperity. Urban and rural, academic and domestic influences had been happily blended in his early life. During the years devoted to the humanities, his long country tramps kept him in touch with the realities of life by bringing him into constant contact with the busy outdoor life of fisher and farmer, whose work never ceases because the seasons never cease. The immense faith of Leplay in the forces which make the world comes from this early familiarity with the world-old, eternally young activities of country life. Had he lived out his boyhood in Paris he might have been a great economist and statistician, but assuredly not the author of *Les Ouvriers Europeens*.

The time had now come for the young man to choose his profession. He had amused himself in his leisure by a little land-surveying, for which he showed so much aptitude that a surveyor who had given him a few lessons offered to take him into his business and subsequently to retire in his favour. The gentleman in question was old, and the business was a good one. If such a career offered few possibilities of distinction at least it ensured a comfortable living for his mother and himself. Leplay hesitated for some time, unwilling either to refuse or accept. While he was trying to make up his mind, a college friend who was preparing to enter the Ecole Polytechnique urged him to follow his example and employ his undoubted talents to better purpose. This Leplay was strongly inclined to do, but a modest opinion of his own abilities held him back. For advice he turned to an old friend of the family, M. Dan de la Vauterie, a civil engineer at St. Lôt. After a month's probation M. de la Vauterie assured him that he need not fear to choose the more difficult career.

The next few months Leplay spent at St. Lôt in the house of M. de la Vauterie, and an affection of the warmest character sprang up between the two: M. Dan de la Vauterie was unmarried and he watched his young pupil with fatherly interest. The young man, on his side, felt an almost reverential admiration for his master.

The life at St. Lôt was one of plain living and high thinking. The habits of M. Dan de la Vauterie were simple in the extreme. His house was a quaint, old-fashioned one, surrounded by a big garden. Books were everywhere, and the small private fortune which M. de la Vauterie possessed in addition to his professional income went to enrich the shelves of his fine library. Master and pupil began work at four in the morning, and employed themselves with professional work till two in the afternoon. At four they betook themselves to the library, which served as a salon, and spent the hours in social, scientific and literary studies, retiring about nine. Montaigne and Cicero were the old scholar's favourite authors, but reading was often laid aside for criticism and comment. The master would pause to draw a parallel between the corruption of the Valois and of the Bourbons, or to defend his dear Montaigne from the charges of scepticism. Leplay, like every ardent boy, caught his master's enthusiasm and throughout his life Montaigne remained one of his favourite authors.

For M. Dan de la Vauterie such studies were not an intellectual luxury but a religious obligation. One of his favourite maxims was that in the absence of a traditional aristocracy the duty of devoting themselves to the service of the state devolved upon the engineers of the state. In his life at St. Lôt, therefore, and

in his intercourse with M. Dan de la Vauterie, there was much to recall and deepen Leplay's childish impressions of his uncle's home. There were the same cultured tastes, the same free discussion of social and moral problems, the same high ideal of social service. The happy months flew by too quickly in the quiet home of M. de la Vauterie and brought the time for entering the Ecole Polytechnique.

After a special course of mathematics at the Lycée Saint Louis Leplay entered the Ecole Polytechnique in October 1825. He speedily distinguished himself, and two years later passed out fourth on the general list and first on the list for the Ecole des Mines.

These two years formed a great contrast to the happy months at St. Lôt. The genial companionship of M. de la Vauterie and the freedom of his pleasant home were exchanged for the galling restraints and barrack-like organization of the Ecole Polytechnique. "The remembrance of my sufferings under this system," wrote Leplay long after, "after the freedom to which I had been accustomed from my earliest years has never been effaced from my mind." In later years he criticised this mechanical system with great severity. The true tradition of education as it existed in the old university of Paris, had been sacrificed under the bureaucratic regime of the Revolution and of the Empire. Of old, the teacher was not so much a master as a kindly friend, and discipline was maintained chiefly by an appeal to the sense of honour, which was a tradition handed on from generation to generation of students. The ideals of the Revolution, and still more the needs of the Empire, found expression in a mechanical discipline which destroyed the sense of individual responsibility in both masters and pupils. It was well fitted, no doubt, to turn out a set of functionaries, but it crushed individuality by affording no scope for personal initiative.

It was a welcome relief, therefore, to pass in 1827 to the Ecole des Mines. "It was with joy," writes Leplay, "that I escaped from the servitude of the barrack and the class-room, which had paralyzed my faculties. In my new instructors I found at once masters and friends, and under the influence of their kindly interest I set myself to give them satisfaction. In this endeavour I was fortunate enough to succeed." The truth thus modestly stated was that he was not only a most brilliant but a most painstaking scholar. Both by nature and education he was too much in earnest in all he undertook to waste his time or do things by halves. At the same time his genial temperament and his early intimacy with men of wide culture saved him from degenerating into a prig or a bookworm.

His life was much like any other hard-working Paris student of small means. He lodged with some of his fellow students in the Hotel du Luxembourg, in what is now the rue Royer-Collard. Such hotels in the Latin Quarter are by no means luxurious. He took his meals at the famous students' restaurant kept by "Rousseau l'Aquatique," now gone and well-nigh forgotten, but of great name and fame in the early years of that century, as readers of Victor Hugo may perhaps remember. When not at work in his little room, which was at once bedroom and study, he was usually to be found in the chemical laboratory of the School of Mines, where he was noted for the neatness and excellence of his practical work. "In my own time, five years later," writes one of his friends, "the analysis he made of tourmaline was still remembered. It lasted two months, and we often consulted the entry referring to it in the laboratory journal."

At the end of his second year Leplay came out at the head of the school, with a total never before gained even by a fourth-year student. He was excused from further study—a distinction conferred for the first and last time in the history of the school—and received a special letter of congratulation from M. Bacquey, Director-General of the Department of Engineering and Mining. This was not the

first mark of interest bestowed on him by this gentleman. Attracted by Leplay's reputation as a student of exceptional promise, he had frequently invited him to his house, and had encouraged him to converse freely. In this way he learned that this exceptionally brilliant young student was by no means wholly engrossed by the profession in which he promised to distinguish himself, but was at least as much interested in social questions.

This interest was the basis of one of the warmest friendships of Leplay's life. At the School of Mines he made the acquaintance of Jean Reynaud, who afterwards acquired some celebrity as the author of a volume of mystical religious philosophy entitled *Terre et Ciel*. Reynaud, who was Leplay's senior as a student, was a young man of considerable literary and poetical talent, and joined great imaginative power to a somewhat masterful character. The two young men were attracted to each other by the similarity of their interests and the dissimilarity of their minds. Both were fond of country life and occupations, interested in social questions and eager to devote themselves to the service of their country. Reynaud's speculations, however, were always abstract and often mystical, while Leplay's imagination was of the scientific type and held in check by his logical faculty. Reynaud was an enthusiastic disciple of Saint-Simon, and generally of the new school of politics, social science and literature. Leplay was more cautious and conservative, somewhat inclined to distrust the eloquence of the new school, and to maintain that new truths—when true—were but old truths re-discovered. The only way to proceed, he maintained, was as they did in the laboratory, by means of minute and scientific analysis. A discriminating study of concrete facts should guide them in their efforts towards social reform.

Under the green trees of the Luxembourg Gardens, sacred to the reveries and dreams of so many generations of students, the two young men discussed almost every subject under heaven. Never, indeed, can the present have seemed more full of possibilities, the future more full of hope, than to a student in Paris in 1829. The air was full of schemes of social reform. The great romantic movement in literature was just beginning. Lamartine, Beranger and Alfred de Vigny were already poets of established fame. Only two years before Victor Hugo had published his famous preface to *Cromwell*, in which he threw down the gauntlet to the classical school. The next year was to see the production of *Hernani* and *Notre Dame de Paris* by the same great author, the *Rouge et Noir* of Stendhal, the *Indiana* of George Sand, the *Rolla* of Alfred de Musset, and the *Mademoiselle de Maupin* of Gautier, were all to follow within the next five years.

At last the two young men came, not to a decision, but to an agreement as to their course of action. Students of the School of Mines were obliged to make two scientific journeys before finishing their course. Leplay proposed to Reynaud that they should visit North Germany together and test their social theories as well as widen their technical knowledge. The choice of Germany was Leplay's, and was doubtless due to his remembrance of "The Gentleman's" glowing accounts of its people and institutions. Reynaud readily fell in with the suggestion, which was that they should study not only the theory and practice of metallurgy, but also find out as much as they could of its social organization.

The kindly interest of M. Becquay now stood them in good stead. They went to him with their scheme and set forth its merits, no doubt with all the grandiloquence of youth. "He smiled at first," writes Leplay, "at the confidence with which we proposed to complete our professional training by an enquiry into the wisdom of nations, but he manifested no incredulity. Indeed, I think he found the forwarding of our schemes an agreeable diversion from his public duties." At any rate, he gave the young men some useful introductions and induced the

authorities to allot a larger sum than usual for travelling expenses. The rest of the money for the journey, which was necessarily an expensive one, the two friends obtained by literary and scientific work.

(To be continued.)

MAIN DATES IN THE LIFE OF FREDERIC LEPLAY.*

1806. Born at Honfleur in Normandy. Educated first at home by a priest, then at school, and later at the Ecole Polytechnique and at the Ecole des Mines in Paris.
1832. Co-editor of the *Annales des Mines*.
1835. Head of the Government Committee on mining statistics.
1840. Professor of Metallurgy and sub-director of the School of Mines.
Engaged also in mining engineering, and at one time directed a group of mines in the Ourals with 45,000 men under him.
1851. Sent by the French Government to report on the metallurgical products at the Great Exhibition in London.
1855. Entrusted with the arrangement and classification of products at the first Paris Exhibition.
Published *Les Ouvriers Européens* (2nd ed., 6 vols., 1877-9). In preparation for this great work Leplay had spent in foreign travel and observation, during more than a score of years, the annual holiday of five to six months which his official duties allowed. He visited nearly every country in Europe (England seven times), and extended his travels into Asia. He thus studied and monographed over three hundred working-class families representative of characteristic industries and localities throughout Europe. From all these "Monographies sociales," thirty-six of the most complete were selected for publication in the *Ouvriers Européens*.
1856. Founded the *International Society for Practical Studies in Social Economy*, with branches in almost all the countries of Europe. The most active of these have been the Belgian groups. The studies of the Society include the publication every three months of a family monograph in its series *Les Ouvriers des Deux Mondes*.
1867. Senator.
1881. Founded *La Reforme Sociale* as a fortnightly publication of joint scientific and practical interest. This publication is also the organ of the *Union of Social Peace*, a federation of small local clubs founded in 1872 to study social questions according to the methods of natural science.
1882. Died.

After the death of Leplay a group of his colleagues and disciples, headed by Henri de Tourville and E. Demolins, founded *La Science Sociale* as an organ of scientific studies detached from practical interests. In this publication have appeared, in addition to interpretative studies in general sociology, a large number of monographs systematically descriptive, not only of working-class families, but also of regional communities in many different parts of the world.

* Reprinted from *The Coming Polity* (1st edition), by W. Branford and P. Geddes.

SIR RONALD ROSS'S STORY: A STUDY IN THE THIRD ALTERNATIVE.¹

To the admirable series of *Recent Advances in Science* which appears quarterly in *Science Progress* there have been added sections dealing with Education and with Philosophy. But advances in Sociology continue to go unrecorded. Is the deficiency in lack of editorial discernment or in the arrest of sociology? Doubtless something of both. Certainly there have been, and continue to be, noted advances by the several specialisms that compose the greater part of sociological knowledge. But how far has the general sociologist incorporated these specialist advances into the working doctrine of the science? What use has he made of them in pushing forward our knowledge of the social process? Must it not be confessed that in verified and systematized knowledge of the social process, we have gone very little ahead of the point where the founders left the science some two generations ago. The failure perhaps lies largely with the inability of the general sociologist to discern clearly and describe precisely the representative social processes in our complex communities of the contemporary world.

These reflections are suggested by a narrative which the editor of *Social Progress* gives, in the current number, of his long campaign for the application of his malarial discoveries, in practical statecraft. He tells how, about twenty years ago, having completed his experimental researches, he abandoned the cloister of thought and entered the field of popular exposition and practical propaganda, in a crusade for the elimination of malaria from the British Empire. As a concrete illustration of the social process in actual working amongst contemporaries the story is illuminating in its details. Going back to 1899, Sir Ronald Ross says: "At that time I had just returned from India, where I had recently ascertained that protozoal parasites, like higher parasites, may be 'metaxenous,' that is, may live in two alternate species of 'hosts'—in other words, I had shown that certain parasites of malaria of men and birds reach their 'definitive stage' in certain species of mosquitoes. This meant, not only the finding of the exact manner in which malaria is communicated from man to man, but also how the disease may be prevented on a large scale. The various guilty species of mosquitoes could now be easily identified by feeding them experimentally on cases of malaria, and then, when we had studied their habits by the usual means, we should be able to control them and the disease carried by them wherever we wished to incur the comparatively small expense required. On the voyage home in 1899 I had said to myself, 'In two years we shall stamp malaria out of every city and large town possessing Health Officers and Sanitary Departments in British possessions.' For the breeding-places of the Anopheline mosquitoes consist generally of small pools or puddles of certain types, mostly easily manageable by ordinary coolies instructed by sanitary inspectors, or, in many other cases, by such minor engineering work as any municipality or town, or even village council, can do. I had spent years of toil on the subject; not

1. This series of studies in *The Third Alternative* it will be remembered are by members of the Cities Committee. The Sociology Society bears no responsibility.—*Ed., Soc. Rev.*

because of its interest (because I prefer other pursuits) nor for the sake of 'pure science,' but in order to relieve human suffering. My success had been achieved by what I think was almost a miracle of luck; and now I gloried in imagination over what the world was going to get for it all. Think of it: a disease which kills its millions a year and torments its hundreds of millions!" "The thing could be done—almost everywhere: wherever there were a white man to command and a few coolies to work: a little work every day, a few extra pounds on the estimates, a trained engineer and a larger sum occasionally, some good town ordinances, and a man who was not a fool to co-ordinate measures and to keep statistics. A word from the head governments—from the dozens of commissioners, administrators, governors, and other well-paid 'proconsuls,' from the India Office, the Colonial Office, the Foreign Office—could set the whole machinery in motion (by telegram) within a few months. In a few more months, perhaps in a year, or in two years, the death-dealing pests would begin to fall under control, would begin to diminish, even to disappear entirely in favourable spots; and with them, slowly, the ubiquitous malady would fly from the face of civilization—not in this town or that town, nor in this or that colony, but almost everywhere throughout the British Empire—nay, further, in America, China, Europe, and the isles of east and west. Not disappear entirely, of course (an impossible ideal at the time), but be banished from the most crowded centres of civilization."

"Men of science, and indeed all humanitarians, should know what really happened. There was no doubt about the discovery. In 1898 my work was confirmed by the great Robert Koch and by Dr. Daniels, and was pirated by distinguished Italian writers. Almost every detail of the life of the parasites of malaria in mosquitoes had become known; and I had infected healthy birds in Calcutta by the bites of mosquitoes in 1918, and the Italians had subsequently infected healthy men in Rome. My work had been published by myself officially in India, and by Dr. Manson in England; and I had reported my new method for reducing malaria to the Government of India. The habits of mosquitoes were well enough known to justify an immediate attack upon them; and in 1899 there was no earthly reason why such an attack should not have been commenced everywhere. On arrival in England I lectured on my new method and then set out at once for West Africa to try to put it into practice. Hurrying back, I described the whole situation in four articles in the *British Medical Journal*, published a Report, gave more lectures, and wrote more articles. In 1901, finding that nothing was being done, I went again to West Africa (at my own expense) to give an object lesson on my method with £2,000 supplied to us by a philanthropist of Glasgow for the purpose; and in 1902 revisited Sierra Leone to see how the work was progressing. Between these visits I wrote two little books on the subject, gave innumerable lectures, refuted innumerable people who 'exposed' us in the daily press, and argued with professors who assured us that it was as absurd to try to reduce mosquitoes as it would be to try to reduce the atmosphere. I visited high officials, wrote to Secretaries of State, enlisted the aid of several great ladies, and even made laborious mathematical studies of the subject."

"The only result was that at the end of the two years, by which time I had hoped for so much, the enlightened municipalities of Calcutta and Freetown had each employed one native, at a salary of about £1 a month, to remove all their mosquitoes; but as the result was disappointing they soon stopped this extravagant expenditure; and, instead of it, Freetown gave £500 a year as salary to a local medical man for general sanitary work without the removal of the mosquitoes—which were the main cause of its sickness! But in 1901 the Americans discovered that yellow fever also is carried by mosquitoes, and, unlike the plantigrade British,

immediately attacked the insects in Havana, with the result that that disease was entirely banished there and malaria was largely reduced. In the same year Sir William MacGregor, advised by his capable Senior Medical Officer, Dr. Henry Strachan, commenced similar work at Lagos, where I visited him; and Dr. Malcolm Watson began his admirable campaign (still being continued) in the Federated Malay States. In 1902 I was invited by the Suez Canal Company to rid Ismailia of malaria; I went there with Sir William MacGregor; and in a year the disease was banished by the labours of no more than four workmen (as Dr. Pressat has stated)! But after this the world thought it would rest from its labours and did nothing more for a long time—except some good work at Hong Kong, Khartoum, and Durban. In 1904 I went to Panama in order to advise the Americans regarding the Canal, which was then being started—and the subsequent work under Surgeon-General Gorgas is famous. In 1906 I visited Greece for the Lake Copais Company; and, at last, in 1907, a British Colony, Mauritius, invited me to get their house in order (this action was due principally to the French planters there). In 1911, I attended a medical congress at Bombay, where a number of smart young men proved with some contumely that the reduction of mosquitoes is always an impossibility. Lastly, in 1913, the Colonial Office actually sent me to Cyprus, where the malaria has been steadily diminished by Dr. Cleveland ever since. Then the War began. It has been said publicly that I made my fortune by all these journeys. I may therefore tell those who are interested in rewards for science that for my three visits to West Africa I received not one penny and not even thanks; that for ridding Ismailia of malaria the wealthy Suez Canal Company gave me £100 for expenses in 1902 and nothing since; and that for the rest of my visits abroad I was paid a total of £1,200, less some out-of-pocket expenses. For going to Panama I received nothing; but I was robbed of £100 worth of greenbacks on arrival! I was able to continue the work owing entirely to receipt of a Nobel Prize from Sweden in 1902 (for my previous work in India)."

"What was the cause of the delay? The machinery was already in existence in 1899. All that the innumerable medical and sanitary officers had to do was to read the pamphlets, articles, and directions, to ask for the small funds required, and to set to work. If they failed, there were numerous Commissioners and Governors and Sanitary Councils to provide funds and to urge them on; and if these failed, there were the India Office, the Colonial Office, the Foreign Office, and Parliament itself, whose duty it was to see that such work was done. And all this time the people of these innumerable towns were suffering or dying of the disease, which, moreover, was causing an enormous waste of money, was paralyzing many industrial pursuits, and giving whole countries an evil reputation. But no, almost nothing was done. I call this the Great Default; and I resent it—not for myself, because it is nothing to me personally—but for the sake of the thousands upon thousands who have suffered because of it."

"The proper thing for a competent Government to have done in 1899 was to have formed at once a strong interdepartmental committee to deal with the new method of malaria prevention throughout the Empire, and to have employed me and other experienced sanitary officers to carry out the work; and I have no doubt that if this had been done an immense saving of life would have been effected. I tried in vain to get an hearing for the proposal. Instead of such a body the usual futile advisory committees were appointed, consisting of men who had no real knowledge of the subject and cared nothing for sanitary matters, and who did practically nothing. At that time, moreover, there were a number of people who had been little heard of before but who were making quite a good thing out of my work—and who opposed everything I suggested. They advised that instead of

reducing mosquitoes it would be better for everyone in malarious areas to take quinine *ad infinitum*, or to protect their houses with wire-gauze, or to wear veils, gloves, and 'mosquito-boots' (*sic*—in the tropics!) But not content with this, some of them suddenly brought up a resolution at a committee of the Royal Society, demanding an enquiry (managed by them) into my gratuitous work in West Africa (which they had done nothing to help) and suggesting that some of the money given for our object-lesson had adhered to our fingers! Fortunately we had kept all the accounts and vouchers, and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain quashed the 'enquiry' at sight, on receipt of a personal letter from me. That is all that I ever received for showing the West African Colonies how their malaria is carried and how it should be reduced—needless to say, I never went there again. But, although he helped me on that occasion, Mr. Chamberlain (then head of the Colonial Office) was never allowed to see the practical bearing of my suggestions; and when, at a deputation to him, I begged him to appoint Sanitary Commissioners for West Africa on the usual public-health model, to see that real sanitary work was being done there, he gave the typical politician's reply that he did not care to appoint spies (*sic*) over the work of his local officers! So much for the Colonies. As for India, it had done almost nothing since I left it in 1899 except to conduct a bogus experiment at Mian Mir (Lahore) to prove that mosquitoes could not be reduced, or that, if they could, their reduction would not affect the malaria (though it was admitted that the latter was due to the former!). The fact was that mosquito reduction was unpopular because it forced local sanitary staffs to work, and local governments to expend some small funds. Money spent on reducing the death-rate has little to show for it in comparison with money spent on new post-offices, hospitals, or colleges—to which the names of great local administrators may be attached as a perpetual memorial. It was always easier not to spend money on mosquito-reduction, but to issue instructions to the people adjuring them to take quinine, protect their windows, or wear veils: this would show that Government was doing something and would save them money at the same time. Of course the people would pay no attention whatever to the advice—but that didn't matter. . . . Well, at last I determined to make a final appeal to the head of the Indian Office in London himself. I spent an hour alone with him pleading my cause on behalf of the million people who are said to die of malaria every year in India alone, and of the millions more, mostly children, who suffer from it. He sat before me like an ox, with divergent eyes, answering and asking nothing. Of course he did nothing. . . . A little later the Americans abolished malaria from the whole Panama Canal zone, chiefly by my methods, and thus won the real honour of having been the first to develop a great new sanitary measure."

"In the whole of this work the British medical profession has given practically no help at all. Dominated by persons of small consequence, it possesses little power or influence in the country and fails to insist upon necessary reforms. Thus Laveran's discovery of the microscopic parasite of malaria was neglected as a means of routine diagnosis for twenty years; and even to-day thousands of soldiers suffering from the disease have often to be treated by doctors who have never been properly instructed about it, and who, apparently, seldom read the literature."

Such is Sir Ronald's narrative. Its upshot summarized in sociological terms is this. His discovery was made by Sir Ronald in the rôle of an "Intellectual" of a spiritual power (science) alien and in many ways inimical to the culture which spiritually supports the existing régime in Politics and Business. To get his revelation applied in life and realized in deed Sir Ronald followed the impulse which drives the Intellectual from the subjective seclusion of his cloister into objective turmoil of the everyday world. Then in the rôle of "Emotional" he seeks

to "convert" alien spiritual powers and to influence towards action their temporal "chiefs."

But what he proposed was manifestly neither Politics nor Business. It was certainly not recognized as Philanthropy, for it would probably be assumed that, if not Sir Ronald himself (a mere "crank"!) then someone in the background had an axe to grind. The project was, in short, an example of that *Third Alternative* which is the objective of the Cities Committee in its endeavours towards an applied sociology.

The story of this particular instance of *The Third Alternative*, illustrates with the vividness of actuality a mode of working of the social process. Is it not a capital instance of that interplay of temporal and spiritual powers which, as the main founder of sociology saw it, makes up the essence of the social process not only throughout history but to-day as much as ever, even perhaps more so?

Apply now this conception of the social process to the case in hand; and apply it in the thoroughgoing way of a physician diagnosing his patient for treatment. Does there not emerge this conclusion? Science in order to become effective socially, in order to realize itself in deed, must create its own temporal power. It must bring about a situation in which the two arms of a working temporal power—its "People" and its "Chiefs"—each in their own way, would respond to that impelling view of man and nature which is known as science. Thus would the People give ear to the call of science as voiced by its Emotionals, and the Chiefs become sympathetic to the counsels of its Intellectuals. But how bring about so vast a social transformation? How contrive that, by selective agency of the social process there rises from the body of the community to the headship of the India Office, a type of chief who thrills to ecstasy at the vision of Sir Ronald Ross, instead of staring vacantly like an ox looking over a gate?

Each historic *régime* has its own mode of making those adjustments to changing circumstances and varying ideal which we call "Reform." In the *régime* of Politics and Business the mode is to create great "organisations" which stir whole masses at a time by appeal to feelings, experiences, impressions usually not of an exalted order. Having learned the secret of this mass movement by trick of *Advertisement*, the man of business has of late (and especially through the War), been teaching the same artifice to the man of politics. And since business and politics increasingly become united as the temporal half of the same social order, the business man naturally finds the politician an apt pupil at the pseudo-spiritual game of advertisement.

On the other hand, the mode of Reform more natural to Science is by the traditional process of leavening, or in its own language, that of fermentation. Translate now this mode of reform into terms of the social process. It means for the scientist that if he is to come into power, it must be through education. And education for the scientist fully arrived, will be no mere pursuit either of "efficiency" in technical maintenance of the existing order, or quest of an archaic or dilettantist "humanism," through a vague "liberalizing" of the curriculum. It will be an opulent incorporation into personal life, of a culture quickened by vision of communities and individuals in progressive evolution, alternately made by, and re-making, tradition and environment. And with such a creative education of mind and soul will go a training of hand and eye, in nature's way, i.e. by manipulative interplay with the environment at all levels from the digging of potatoes and the making of boxes, to the bettering of cities and the building of temples. But, assuredly, deep and far-reaching must be the social and moral transformations, if such thoroughgoing changes in the ideals and process of education are to be brought about. What has science to say in this wider and more complex field of social

evolution? Is science to continue indefinitely its present passive rôle of mere acceptance or refusal alike in face of the conventional social order, or where confronted by its insurgent critics? If not, how far is science prepared or preparing first to formulate and then to realize a set of social ideals consonant with its own high traditions?

Already before the war the scientist had long been at the task of educating his masters, the chiefs of Politics and Business. But this scientific education, if not limited to Chemistry and Physics was concentrated on these, with, at best, but a top-dressing of Geology, Natural History, Botany and Physiology. The so-called social sciences taught in Universities, Colleges and Schools have, it is manifest, little assuredly in common with the grand historic tradition of a science at once naturalist and humanist. The question indeed has to be squarely faced, as to how far these "sciences" of Economics, Administration, Political Theory, Jurisprudence, Documentary History, etc., are not mimetic artifices of survival adopted by a spiritual power congruent with Business and Politics in instinctive struggle with an incipient rival looming up from the side of science. Towards confirmation of such a hypothesis might be cited a real incorporation into its educational scheme, of chemistry, physics (and to a large extent the biology of competition) by the social order of which Politics and Business are the temporal power. How useful to this social order are physics, chemistry and competitive biology, the private fortunes made in engineering, chemical manufactures and armaments give ample evidence, even if it were not for the vast amplification and extension of such fortunes by the war.

But even though we adopt this hypothesis of scientific mimicry by the "spiritual power," congruent with politics and business, yet that is merely the beginning of the story. For the leaven of science having been introduced into that régime is seen to be working in its natural and proper way. Hence the gradual transformation, going on at accelerating speed, of studies like the abstract, semi-metaphysical system of Political Economy (the "dismal science" of Carlyle) into the increasingly factual and observational studies which are becoming intergrated into a genuinely scientific Economics. True there is much of transmutation still to do even in Economics before its title to social science is genuinely earned. How much more in studies which retain so great an admixture of the pre-scientific tradition as History, Political Theory, Jurisprudence, etc.! A similar indictment may of course be made against general sociology. And the slowness of the needed transformation of this into an observational science, generalized not by fortuitous personal abstraction, but by ordered comparison and verified induction, is the excuse of such an accredited organ as *Science Progress*, omitting from its survey the narrative of recent advances in sociology. Yet surely it is clear that not by ostracism, but by gradual incorporation of sociology into the body of science, can the scientist hope to emancipate himself from the position of veiled helotry, fitful luxury, or futile antagonism, in which he stands to the Chiefs of the existing temporal power. Still less can he ever expect to raise science into a working spiritual power except by fostering and developing a sociology pure and applied, until it is in a position to do those things that constitute and are spiritual power. How otherwise can the scientist, except by knowing the social process with the intimacy of reality, warn the People of Danger or encourage them with Hope; how otherwise than by showing them how to control the social process towards noble ends can the scientist offer to the Chiefs of the social order a realistic education of genuine service in their professed vocation? How otherwise than by foreseeing the results and predicting the products of the social process can the scientist offer acceptable counsel to statesmen?

In political vision, most scientists would appear to see but two open doors. One of these leads towards a Party increasingly identified by the dogmas of an abstract Political Economy with a vague and half-real thing called Capital. The other leads towards a Party identified by the antithetic dogmas of insurgent schools, with a vague and half-real thing called Labour. But surely the way of the scientist here too is that of the *Third Alternative*? Let him look around not with the prejudices of an alien culture, but in his own natural way, that of the wondering and questioning child. He will see no bogey or idol whether of Capital or Labour, but an immense amount of work to be done and in many, perhaps most, cases insufficient energies available for the doing of it. Next changing his mood from that of pure to that of applied science (*i.e.* from wonder and observation to sympathy and service) he calls in physicist and chemist to increase and economise the available supply of nature's energies, he calls the geographer to explore for fresh sources of energy, he calls in the biologist to improve and increase the food supply, and the physiologist to maximize and valorize its animal and human uses. This is very much what happened under stress of war, with not a little of birth-aiding towards a more real science of Economics.

Turning from their work to their ways of life, the observing scientist sees the common folk, and most others, engaged in a pathetic struggle to make homes, rear families, educate and launch children, provide for a comfortable old age, and leave an honourable memory. For a fuller knowledge, precise, verified, systematized, of what the people all around us do under the circumstances, the observer would consult his brother specialists, the anthropologist and the psychologist, he might even question moralist and priest, and possibly take counsel with the theorist of art. From their several answers, taken singly, could be extracted much of anecdotal and even dramatic interest, but probably little of scientific illumination; while to bring the various replies together in accord would doubtless pass the wit of man. Yet through all these studies and many others of like order in the social field, the heaven of science is working, though slowly yet surely. To quicken its vitalizing process a wider and more active co-operation of specialized workers is needed. But two things in particular stand in the way. One is indifference, even scepticism, on the part of the more established sciences and their accredited institutions. The other is lack of leadership on the part of the general sociologists. But are not these two drawbacks to be remedied together? Let, for instance, the British Association call upon the sociologists to establish a section for that science, and one moreover in which the specialists of the sociological sub-sciences were not only adequately represented, but their co-ordination made the main issue and special task of the new section. Challenged in this definite way, the general sociologist would be driven to seek out and concentrate on his central problem of integration, the fullest resources. In the measure of his growing success would emerge a verifiable theory of social evolution; and in its application to life would open for the scientist, and all who might be persuaded to enter, a third door into that world of affairs, at present monopolized by the politics of conventional and insurgent parties, and their associated types and ideals of business and industry. Without traversing the substantial grounds of difference which distinguish existing political parties, the sociologist is yet bound to affirm of all of them alike an equal degree of immunity to any science beyond Chemistry, Physics and elementary Biology. There is no reason to suppose, for instance, that under a Labour Government, things being as they are, the head of the India Office would be more responsive to the scientific vision of Sir Ronald Ross than was the gentleman whose bovine eyes looked without seeing, and whose long ears listened without hearing.

As to existing political parties, they are themselves, to be sure, in a crisis of

readjustment. Everywhere throughout the western world these parties would seem to be composing their minor differences, realigning themselves, and massing into two opposed camps, those of Conventional and of Insurgent Systems. Is not the reconciliation of these two rival hosts, marshalling for battle, the menacing problem that in varying but similar form confronts each nation in our occidental civilization? But alike for the peace and the progress of the world, the reconciliation must proceed by no mere bargaining of debate, by compromise and concession, but on the basis of bringing together into a union and working together of what is true and good in each of the two rival hosts. And for the assay of that essential ore, no less than for its refining and development, is not the aid of sociological science, immature though it be, indispensable?



THE REGIONAL ASSOCIATION AND ITS MODE OF WORK.

I.

THE EDINBURGH MEETING

THE Regional Association felt this year that the time was ripe for calling on old friends and associates north of the Tweed. The Outlook Tower—shut during the war—having been re-opened just in time by the enterprise and energy of Miss Ritchie, home on leave from South Africa, we accordingly met there for the week, April 6th to the 13th. A local Committee had arranged a programme which struck a nice balance between the preliminary demonstration of survey method, necessary for the neophytes, and new matter warranted to be of interest even to the most jaded.

Those of us who had foregathered there in 1914 met again with great pleasure fellow students from the North. Indeed, it had been thought that the meeting would be largely composed of these old-established Scottish members. On the contrary, however, the English, Irish, and Welsh predominated. This was due more to the awkwardness of the Easter holidays in Scotland than to want of interest, as was shown by the fact that for the first time local education authorities, in two cases, thought it worth while to send representatives.

The opportunity such occasions give of bringing together people who have common interests upon which to exchange views is not the least important use of such a gathering. A meeting of one week allows hardly enough time for those personal and social discussions. But it makes the introductions. And Edinburgh has special regionalist advantages, apart from its situation, invigorating air, and deep and varied interests. It has the compact character of a walled-city, and it is the place where a regional survey has been carried further than anywhere else, and by the real experts, some of whom were fortunately present. We had the benefit of hearing Mr. Mears' fascinating description of mediæval borough-towns of both sides of the Tweed, of his guidance around pre- and post-Flodden Edinburgh. "Best lecture I have heard this long time," exclaimed a London School of Economics man after Dr. McLintock's description of the geological formation of Edinburgh. And "If we had an artist like Mr. Hector to put our survey work together we might make as beautiful a display as Aberdeen." The comment that "In school it's the teacher who does the work of survey, you know," was verified by the amount of original records, maps, pictures, plans, etc., exhibited by the King's Langley pupils, and by the paper read by Mr. Wells, of Abbot's Langley. While survey work was shown to be the basis of the training of a woodcraft Scout by Dr. Aubrey Westlake, in a paper read to us by his father. And how it can crystalize into a magnificent town plan was demonstrated by Mr. Horsborough Campbell, the Borough Engineer of Edinburgh.

If Mr. Rees teaches Economic History in the University as he taught us, by comparing his native Pembrokeshire towns with Edinburgh, it is a human (and humorous) study of real things, not abstractions. And if people ask you "what is a regional survey?" tell them to go to see Mr. George Morris's slides of the Saffron Walden Survey.

One day we got right away on to the Pentland Hills, and saw through the eyes of Dr. W. G. Smith how the slopes managed the distribution of their vegetation. Other excursions included a geological one to Arthur's Seat and economic ones to a shale oil mine, Nelson's Printing Works and Bartholomew's great map-making establishment. Some of the "strangers within her gates" contributed to a symposium on "Life in Edinburgh from the point of view of Highlander, Borderer, Irishman and Frenchman"; and Miss Ritchie, by her paper, "Leplay in Natal," reminded us of our South African branch. Mrs. F. C. Mears' achievements in gardening waste spaces among Edinburgh slums, and Dr. Brock's demonstrations of the benefits derived, from setting them to work to study their region, by men suffering from shell shock, are well known to readers of the *Review*, but were a revelation to many who heard of it for the first time.

Discussion on such wide aspects of the movement as the League of Nations, Labour, and Home Rule, wound up the programme, which, as I said, could have been arranged and gone through in no other place.

When we meet again it will be at Glastonbury, and there this summer (August 27th to September 11th) we mean to make our own survey on the spot.

I. C. J. FRASER DAVIES
(Hon. Sec. Regional Association.)

II.

THE CORRELATION OF STUDIES.*

How to hitch the waggon of individuality to the star of human service is a question which has engaged the thought of countless philosopher-citizens, both before and since Emerson threw out his challenge to the world at large. A more urgent variant of the same problem, in these days of war-reaction and unrest, is how to pool, evaluate and sort out, and so make socially effective, the energies of all the many specialisms and aspirations, manifest in the movement towards what has come to be called "reconstruction." One approach towards the problem is exemplified in the work of the Regional Association, whose latest Conference took place in the Easter Vacation, being organized in conjunction with the Outlook Tower, Edinburgh. The Association has for aim "the promotion of the study of Regions and their communities and the Civic and Educational application of the results of such study." Its Conferences invite attention from the sociologist, as an endeavour to correlate the particular interests and researches of many students and workers by applying them to the study of one region after another, each region in which the Conference is held being taken as the social unit for observation and study. The labours of amateurs, general students and specialists are thus associated in a common field of research, that provided by the massed interests and outlooks, topographical and economic and human, which exist in any town or city with its adjacent countryside, and which give its citizens what they have of common civic outlook and spirit. Not only is the specialist thus enabled to make his own contribution to the wider thought-circle of the group, but also to share and appraise the knowledge and resources and enthusiasms of other specialists, with whom probably he would otherwise have little opportunity of coming into direct touch. Further,

* This study of Method, by Mr. W. Mann, the Organising Secretary of the Sociological Society, replaces that promised in the last number of the *Review*. The series of studies on the *Interpretative Method* there announced is postponed till the completion of Mrs. Herbertson's study of Leplay, begun in this number.

encouraged by the realization thus afforded that others besides himself are keenly interested in what he has to say, if only he will say it from the viewpoint of the life and development of his city and region, he may be challenged and enheartened to relate his specialist aptitudes more definitely and effectively to public service.

That increasing numbers are seeking in these Regional Methods a way out of the growing complexity, multitude and confusion of educational and social problems, is clear from the nature and diversity-in-unity of the papers and lectures which in this Edinburgh meeting were successfully arranged, to quote the "aims" of the Association, to "yield a concrete and unified view of the interplay between man and his environment," as exemplified in a capital city, at once historic and modern. As the programme progressed, one had a growing sense of a natural but logical process of cause and effect in which Edinburgh, from its primary environment and the consequent development of its work and industries, had been built up into the centre of national influence it now is inheriting and embodying, transmitting and disseminating the traditions and culture of successive historical epochs and moving out towards a future of which the main problems and issues could be surmised and investigated in the same orderly way.

The method of the programme may be of interest to those concerned with the modes of pooling ideas and ideals in such a way as to facilitate sociological survey and interpretation. First came two lectures on the geology and flora of the Edinburgh district, one by Dr. MacLintock at the Royal Scottish Museum, and the other by Dr. W. G. Smith, at the College of Agriculture. Illustrated by lantern slides, these lectures vividly and concretely gave the necessary environmental basis of natural history for the proper understanding of the next lecture, that on "Primitive Edinburgh," by an architect, who is also an archaeologist, Mr. F. C. Mears, which by systematically portraying by map, plan and picture the successive stages of the city's growth, in turn helped towards viewpoints and consideration still further up the scale of cause and effect, in the sequence of industrial, economic and cultural formations. That the method lends itself to exhibition of the essentials of a survey in easily transportable form was evident from the compact series of maps, plans, diagrams and pictures showing surveys of places and communities as widely separated and distinct as the city of Aberdeen and of the Malvern district in the west of England. Not less effective than these two surveys (both of them built up on common methods, and so genuinely comparative) involving the co-operation of scientific experts and skilled technique of artist and mapmaker, were others of a more elementary type, made by school-children; one conducted by Miss Barker, under rather favourable conditions at a private school at King's Langley, and the other by Mr. Valentine Bell, under conditions not at all promising, by children of an elementary board-school in Lambeth. The latter especially was found particularly suggestive and encouraging by several teachers from elementary schools in poor districts who were present. That not only teachers but the educational authorities as well, are beginning to "sit up and take notice" of methods so well adapted for reducing overcrowded time-tables and absorbing individual energies and interests of large numbers of pupils in a new and fascinating adventure, the exploration and study of the school district, was shown by Mr. J. W. Wells, headmaster of the County School at Abbots Langley, who also exemplified his statements by a map showing some dozen or so schools in which Regional Survey is being put on trial for a year by the Herts Education Committee. It was interesting to learn that already a number of schools not included in the first batch have applied to be allowed to join in, thus exemplifying how a natural way of co-ordinating the multifarious "subjects" of the school curriculum, once being discovered, it goes on to work by process of leaven.

As a matter of fact, most of those who took part in the Conference were teachers, several having come to learn how they might best apply regional survey methods in their own neighbourhood. In this connection the writer would suggest, that it might help such, if there were in future conferences, to be one or more lectures devoted to exposition and discussion of the more general principles and scheme of the method—along the lines of the paper on “Thinking Machines,”—as well as the admirable exemplifications of its actual application by teachers who have tried it. Of the latter, the lecture on “Regional Survey in the Teaching of History,” by Mr. J. F. Rees, showed effectively how the local annals of Welsh towns provide apt ways of approach to the wider history of Britain and the world. Again, in a lecture on Saffron Walden, by Mr. George Morris, there was exhibited a remarkable series of slides which constitute a very model of what may be done in the way of survey by school and teacher and local specialist in collaboration. Another by Miss Mary Ritchie, of the Natal Education Department, was evidence that the Colonies also are alive to the importance of regional work.

These and many other lectures, demonstrations, visits and excursions made up a very convincing programme, of which perhaps just one criticism might be made, that there should be more time allowed for discussion, which, on this occasion, was unprovided for, except for about two hours of the last morning, when more than a few had already departed homeward. This would not only make the principles of the method more accessible to newcomers, but also allow of helpful comparison of ways of application by those practised in its use. It is also perhaps natural that the work of the members, largely teachers and students of natural science, emphasize the more topographical, naturalistic and historical aspects of regional survey. Doubtless as social students co-operate in greater numbers and work upon and supplement the data provided from the side of the “preliminary” sciences and from history, the more distinctively sociological and civic aspects will grow increasingly conspicuous.

But the regional survey by no mean closes, still less culminates, in social and civic science, at least as these are ordinarily understood. For social science itself has to be investigated as in its origins a product of locality and tradition. Turn back, for instance, to the records of those Edinburgh Summer Meetings of a generation ago, from which sprang the current movement of regional study. In these ancestral beginnings, you are shown, for example, Adam Smith's economic individualism (side by side with “Robinson Crusoe's” adventures) rooted in the soil of Kircaldy, one of those many petty trading ports, homes and foci of personality, which line the coast of the peninsula of Fife, “like a fringe of gold on a beggar's mantle.” Then, generalized in the world mart of Glasgow, polished in the keen society of eighteenth century Edinburgh, regional thought passed into creative doctrine, generating a human breath that reacted on civilization like a tornado, sweeping through the western mind with an *élan* now divine, again diabolic. But no less than sciences do not literature, art and invention demand for their understanding and appreciation (and so for their full incorporation into the culture of democracy) a certain definite knowledge of lowly origins linked to high facts of creative deed. Many endeavours towards such illuminations are discoverable in the chronicles of those old Summer Meetings in Edinburgh. Walter Scott was thus shown, by visits to Jedburgh, Melrose and Dryburgh as child of the Border Ballad, before, in his later life, alternating between the mediæval Old Town of Edinburgh, and its pseudo-classic New Town, he became the father of literary Romanticism. Similar growth and transformation of regional fruitage into world-shaping spiritual forces were sought and found in visits to Glasgow and the western highlands. At one moment in the evolution of a “Viking forge” on the Clyde, a Watt appears

as supreme mechanic among the shipwrights, and at another Kelvin. Again, the Glasgow School of Art emerges, first in the contrast and reaction of its regional mysticism and pageantry of colour against the dull squalor of an industrial inferno, and then maturing, bursts into glowing beauties of imagination which flame through the studios of Europe. In final illustration, think of David Hume, the questioning Edinburgh barrister, for a lack of briefs turning his inquisitorial habit of mind on to the philosophers of his day, and rousing the world to new thought by this pillory of the witness box. These are but samples of regional studies culled from the scanty literature of those arresting Summer Meetings in the Edinburgh of a generation ago. Few as are their published results, yet the student of regional and civic surveys may read therein the story of a concerted endeavour by scientist, historian, writer, artist to disclose, depict and pourtray an evolutionary drama in which Man and Nature are to each other as alternatively anvil and hammer.

Using another kind of figure, one may regard nature and man as bound in a rhythm of beats, running from the lower notes of environment and tradition to the higher ones of art, literature and polity. Begin the study of your region with its geography and geology, go on with its natural and civil history, rise to its social psychology and its higher sociology; make your survey in this order and you play the melody of nature, mounting, swelling, to a climax, in man. Again, start afresh in the reverse order. Begin now with cities and their temporal governments and spiritual powers, their arts and literatures, descend through economic to physical facts; make your survey in this sequence and you may strike the chords of those richer harmonies which the soul of man plays upon the grand organ of nature.

Metaphor apart, advocates of the regional and civic survey contend that its educational merits reach even towards solving that hoary problem of the schools, the correlation of studies. How the specialisms of the natural and social sciences are all deployed for the purpose of revealing the drama of regional life and activities, has already been sketched in the foregoing account of the Edinburgh meeting. That art and literature not only may, but must be directed by the student to the same focus has also been indicated. The correlation and unity of "subjects" in school and college curriculum thus seems fairly assured by their reference to a complex but single objective, which in one aspect is nature and another man. It would thus seem that in achieving its correlation of studies the regional and civic survey has incidentally attained to a working solution of another hard-shelled problem of the schools. For is not the long and bitter controversy over the respective cultural claims of the natural sciences on one side and "the humanities" (i.e., literature and history) on the other, effectively side-tracked by making fullest use of both approaches? Must it not therefore be conceded that here in the regional and civic survey is an educational apparatus which, in the hands of an adequate fellowship, is capable of combining into one discipline, one knowledge and aid, the qualities of literature, history and science? And if so, the defects of these three orders of study when pursued in isolation, or developed in rivalry, need no longer hinder the march of Education. Anyhow, it is of moment to witness these devotees of regional and civic survey committed to a quest of unity whose mode is based on no mere artifice of logic or mechanical putting together of diverse things. There is something refreshing, in these days of disappointed hopes for enlarging harmonies, in the spectacle of students and investigators reaching out after a unison of the natural and the human which shall be grounded in the realities of life, instinct with common sense and quickened by purpose.

W. MANN.

REVIEWS.

LABOUR IN THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

THE SKILLED LABOURER, 1760—1832. By J. L. & Barbara Hammond. London : Longmans, Green & Co., 12/6 net.

MR. and MRS. HAMMOND, already so well known for their study, in "The Village Labourer," of the effects of the enclosures, and of the new conditions due to the Industrial Revolution in "The Town Labourer," have now in "The Skilled Labourer," given us a work as valuable and stimulating as either of its predecessors. It must not, however, be supposed that it deals with a different class of worker to that treated in the former volume. "The Town Labourer" dealt largely with spinners, weavers and miners, but from the point of view of the general industrial situation, and as individual members of the new proletariat. In the present volume, each of these trades is dealt with as a separate element, and we have chapters on the Miners of the Tyne and Wear, the Cotton Workers, the Woollen and Worsted Workers, the Spitalfields Silk-weavers and the Frame-work Knitters—those who were previously considered as subject to the general conditions of the new system being now envisaged as subject to that system, as modified or intensified by the peculiar conditions of each of these separate trades. The concluding chapters—based largely on correspondence preserved in the Home Office—are devoted to an account of the Luddite disturbances, and the official employment of spies by whom simple men were led into crime and suffered the severe penalties of the law. The whole story of the Luddites illustrates how difficult is the maintenance of order when there is a widespread distrust of the fairness of the administration of justice. The attacks on the mills and the destruction of machinery more than once resulted in loss of life; yet in a population naturally averse to riot and murder it became almost impossible to obtain evidence. The real guarantee of civic order does not consist in the powers of the police or the sternness of judicial sentences, but in the confidence of the people in the just administration of the law. There is another point which may be of interest to the people of this country in the present age. Before the war we were often told of our degeneracy, and when the war began we were reminded of our heroic stand against Bonaparte; yet these widespread riots in the Midlands and the North occurred in 1812, when we were in the thick of the contest, and Wellington was fighting desperately in the Peninsula. Comparing past and present, who can doubt that the increasing power of the workers, the spread of Trade Unions, the steps taken towards the true "incorporation of the proletariat" in society, have been a source of strength and unity to the nation in the hour of danger?

In a curious way, like objects seen through the wrong end of a telescope, we meet in these pages many of the problems that vex us at the present time. During the French War, when the husband enlists, the wife often takes his place at the loom. After the Peace of Amiens disorderly shearmen are described as "not an assembly of a common mob, but a body of armed, regulated, and systematical people composed of Militia Men and Marines"; the shearmen themselves say: "Now the

contending Nations are at Peace with each other we are sent home to starve"; and after Waterloo, the journeymen cloth-workers of the West of England declare they are compelled to wish for another war. There was the perennial dispute whether the better chance of remedying grievances lay in industrial action, hampered by the combination laws, or in political action, only possible, as many thought, after a reform of Parliament. We get, also, glimpses of early efforts to find new forms of industrial relations. Sometimes masters and men combined to force standard wages on sweating employers, a course which a Committee of the House of Commons, voicing the prevailing economic views, declared "so reprehensible and inconsistent with every principle of fair dealing and justice, either towards the individual or the public," that they could not "too strongly express their reprobation." Among the Frame-work Knitters in 1813, it was the custom of the Societies to hire frames, let them out to their members who were workless or dissatisfied with their employment, and send the silk hose thus produced up to London to be sold. There are even some signs of a desire to abate the masters' control. In 1826, the miners' claim a share in the management of affairs that directly concern them. And in 1830, the mill-owners declare that the spinners "insist not only on the masters giving them such wages as they demand, but that they regulate the whole work in the factories in all its details, in the manner which the union prescribes; and the men refuse to communicate with the masters, referring them for terms to the leaders of the union."

But these efforts were only sporadic and seldom successful for long. It is the differences between the position of the workers to-day and their position a century ago that the chapters of this book impress on the reader. As to the wretched conditions of the workers materially, the evidence adduced almost proves too much, for their wages often fall below the sums needed for the barest necessities of life. How they survived at all remains a mystery. In some cases they were kept alive by parish doles under the old poor-law—the manufacturers being thus subsidized from the rates; but perhaps the cumulative effect of the items recorded unduly accentuates the existing poverty. Whether in the year they worked more or less than at present it is difficult to say. Certain it is that the hours needed to earn a day's pay were appalling. The colliers complain as late as 1831 that the boys have to "work fourteen hours from the starting at the crane and until ending at the same, which through the distances the crane is underground, keeps the boys sometimes seventeen hours from home, leaving them only seven or eight hours a day for every other purpose of life."

It is the strongest defence of the policy of *laissez-faire* that under its domination during the middle years of the nineteenth century—and especially from 1850 onwards, the position of the workers did gradually improve. But it must not be forgotten that there was already growing up, as the reaction of the early years of the century passed away, a new respect and consideration for the mass of the people, and that on special points even in legislation, some of the more extreme views of the classical economists were set aside. The authors of this book have collected many curious references to the workers, which perhaps would in certain circles be fully approved even to-day, but are now seldom publicly expressed. A magistrate's clerk asks: "Shall a set of obscure individuals who possess no interest or feeling for their country's honour dare to dictate to a Government or to the proprietor of a manufacture what they shall do or what machinery they shall use?" He makes no distinction between the law-abiding and violent weavers and promises to act decisively as soon as they do anything irregular. A similar view of the need of strong measures is taken by a factory owner, whose factory was afterwards attacked. "Nothing in my opinion is more unwise in any case

than to allow the lower orders to feel their strength and to extend their communications with each other without restraint. Allow them to go on uninterrupted, and they become daily more licentious." On the other hand, the Rev. Thomas Gisborne, as becomes a member of the spiritual power, while accusing the miners of drunkenness, profane language, deceit, riotous dispositions, impatience of supposed grievances and discontent inflamed by the contagion of turbulence and clamour, does not rely chiefly on force, but on the inculcation of "a just sense of revealed religion, and of the rewards and punishments of a future state."

The classic political economy and the new organization of industry grew up together and in both there was, with many advantages, these common faults; they took no account of human nature and still less of human society as a whole, they concentrated both theory and practice on the material aspects of life, they pursued exclusively individual ends, and they were without the historic spirit, or care for the preservation of the basic constitution of society. But while the masters for the most part eagerly accepted the new doctrines, except perhaps on the negative side of repression, the workers still hankered after the regulation of hours and wages by public authority—even the authority of a bench of early-nineteenth-century magistrates. Especially were they desirous of maintaining and extending to other districts the Acts regulating the wages of the Spitalfields silk-weavers.

Fogwell Buxton had some stinging sarcasms for Ricardo's abstractions. He said his clients did not pretend to understand political economy, which appeared to change its principles every two or three years, and that, considering that their subsistence depended on these Acts, it was not unnatural that they should be impatient of the authority of the mysterious science. He reminded the House that the silk-weavers of Coventry had asked for similar legislation. In Coventry the poor rates were 19s. in the £1, and in Spitalfields 6s., and in Coventry wages ranged from 5s. 6d. to 10s. a week, in Spitalfields from 14s. to 15s.

But it was a charge against the latest of these Acts that under it wages had risen, and never fallen! And in the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on the Woollen Manufacture, drawn up by Wilberforce, the progressive rise of wages among all classes of workmen, which must be the inevitable, though gradual, result of the operations of such a society as that of the shearmen, is spoken of as "an evil in itself abundantly sufficient to accomplish the ruin, not only of any particular branch of trade, but even of the whole commercial greatness of our country."

S. H. SWINNY.

A GARDENER OF PARADISE.

TOWN PLANNING TOWARDS CITY DEVELOPMENT. A REPORT TO THE DURBAR OF INDORE.

By Patrick Geddes. Holkar State Printing Press, Indore; also at Batford, 94, High Holborn, London, W.C. £1. 11s. 6d. 2 vols., 203 and 205 pp., 12½ in. by 8 in.*

THE most disabling loss of the modern era has been the disappearance, ever since

*In this review, as in other writings, such as "Social Renewal," "Spirit Creative" (*Papers for the Present*), "The Community of Work," Mr. George Sandeman seeks to develop a single principle. It is that on the one hand religious life and thought, and on the other hand, life and thought in respect of earthly affairs of every kind, ought not to be separated; that in separation each inevitably corrupts and has corrupted; and that the health of each is to be sought in unlimited union of the two.—*Editor, Soc. Rev.*

the Middle Ages, of the concept of *Wisdom*, regarded not as a quality (for we still speak of a wise man or a wise policy), but as a master-science or discipline, supreme alike in vision and in practical inspiration, in which love and understanding, each at its highest, become one and indistinguishable, just as at their best they are in fact one in the heart of man. Defined by Aristotle as "the scientific knowledge of the noblest objects," celebrated by Jewish seers in the superb poetry of *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus*, and distinguished by the greatest of scholastics as the architectonic study which must crown and co-ordinate all others, Wisdom surely came down to the modern age with sufficient credentials. But we had no use nor place for her. In a common infidelity, love chose to go one way and understanding another. We had lost the very idea of a cult or discipline answering to the concrete unity of the spirit. In the result, neither knowledge nor practice retained its fully human character; indeed, we may say that each became largely inhuman. And so we have, for example, the sequence of inhuman philosophies from Descartes onward, barren, unrelated to life and to all higher values; and the inhuman university wherein we studied them, an institution which was unconscious that its pupils were human beings at all. We have had that enemy of mankind, the inhuman State. We have had inhuman economics and the inhuman factory town. We have an inhuman theatre. There is nothing wrong with most of our possessions, except that they are inhuman. They are bad in a certain specific way which may be accurately isolated and defined. That is to say, they are not moulded by, nor co-ordinated to, the only possible common end of human endeavour. They have been, as it were, decapitated, and so have fallen asunder into corruption.

For all this the remedy has begun to emerge with the rise of sociology and the corresponding enlargement of moral vision; but nowhere else, so far as I know, is that remedy so clearly grasped, or illustrated with so great a catholicity as in Professor Geddes' two volumes on Indore. Anyone who comes to this book after a lifetime of suffering amid the inhumanities will receive joy, ardour and hope, because it reveals a plainly right and magisterial view, promising great future gain. It shows you once more, after these centuries, a definite Wisdom in this technical sense, a practical master-science or discipline, an understanding inspired by love of the noblest objects, in the act of liberating into their vital unity all subordinate studies, activities and interests, and renewing these accordingly. It is characteristic of a new age. For as countless inhuman separations of the most various kinds have characterised the age now shattered, so it is already certain that the inspiration of the coming era will be the reunion of separates into the unity of life. For all these reasons the restoration and illustration of a scientific Wisdom, now before us, is obviously an achievement of a very high order. And it brings us right up to the great, dominant problem of the future.

The master-science here appears as a practical sociology, devoted to the evocation of the highest life-values of a geographical region, as, for instance, a river-valley, or a city with its surrounding country; in this case an old Indian river-city whose structure reflects the successive phases of its history, from a religious and agricultural origin, through a military and commercial era, to its present development as a cotton factory town. The art is spoken of as "town-planning," "city design," and more generally as "Civics" or "Geotechnics" on the analogy of "geography"; but it chiefly suggests the mind of the Gardener, not only because its exponent is first and last a gardener, but rather because his happy intuition is to see as living, and in growth and flowering and fruiting, a world of things which have long been mistaken for dead and inorganic and dealt with as such, so that he exercises a magic power and sympathy, as of one who raises from the dead. This biological or life-understanding, and therefore in

practice this life-giving spirit, is that which gives the key to the new scientific Wisdom.

Its biological character makes it exceedingly concrete. Thus, it sees a man, not as the abstract individual he may appear to be, and too often sets out to be, but as rooted in nature, in custom and tradition, in an occupation, in a family, in village or city, in a certain region; and its intention to make the most of him, and so to give him the best gifts, becomes the highly-inspired and thought-out work of interpreting and labouring at his environment, and the incessant co-ordination of all activities and of all branches of knowledge in order to the best life. To this concrete vision the environment itself, in no play of fancy, but in reasoned truth, just as in the simplest and in the highest experience, participates in the spiritual character which it has moulded and evokes, so that, for instance, "the old religious view of rivers is no mere past mythology, but a sublime anticipation." Again, the various elementary labours and occupations disclose their enfolded treasures of virtues and imagination, their "civilization-values," which may be endlessly cultivated, yet may perhaps not be surpassed. The biological mind is of synthetic habit, accustomed to find ever deeper interaction between the living form and its environment, and again among all its functions; and the same mind, turned practical, is in this book amazingly skilled and equipped to organize every particular toward the consummation of the good life. These particulars in fact exist, and are known chiefly in their organic relation to our physical, mental and spiritual life, and therefore as organic to personal and social fulfilment; and our reaction upon them must obviously be directed throughout by the all-governing interest of the good life, the civic ideal. Otherwise the particular, whatever it may be, misses the mark, and develops in some harmful or amorphous way, contrary to its own nature, so that it becomes in fact one of the inhuman separates. That is the main point: we must not act "anyhow"—not worship nor manufacture nor build nor legislate nor teach "anyhow"—but act only in reasoned service to the good life; and such organic action means of course not only wisdom, but also social health, liberty, wealth, concord and every other benefit.

Let us read, with some abbreviations. "Men are becoming disillusioned, through all towns and countries, of the ideas and activities which have brought about this climax of destruction. With all its industrial and imperial and financial greatness, they ask, what has been this industrial world after all? A time of digging up coals anyhow, to get up steam anyhow, to run machinery anyhow, to produce cheap products anyhow, to sell them for profit anyhow, and so achieve "success"—for one per thousand; and this estimated in money gains, and these mainly at death. So too there is disenchantment with the imperial world, with its promise of peace and pride of power; and with the financial world, with its incalculable and crushing debts."

"But our problem of Reconstruction—the Making of the Future—how shall we set about that?"

"We have to re-open the coal mines, renew the machinery and multiply the products like our predecessors of the industrial age; but now not merely for sale and personal profit, but for clothing the naked. We have again to till and plant the ground; but now not merely or mainly for market, but to feed the hungry. Again, we have to build the houses, but no longer merely as properties, as comfort-villas, or luxury-palaces, but to house the homeless. We have to re-build the schools; but not to pass examinations in, or provide returns for metropolitan clerks to pigeon-hole; but to teach the children."

These words written of reconstruction in the battle areas of France and Belgium, have obviously a wider application. They mean that thought and

labour of every kind are no longer to be "anyhow," but are to be renewed, organised, integrated, in order to the noblest life, that is to say, in order to true civilisation and all its fruits. That is the immovable intention of every mind which is awake to its present responsibility.

These volumes, the result of an intimate study of the city, illustrate the method throughout a great variety of particulars. There is a good deal of "anyhow" about Indore, chiefly of modern origin, and the danger of a good deal more. Professor Geddes gives a vast amount of detailed criticism and suggestion, accompanied by maps and plans. We cannot here even enumerate the many subjects of interest to the town-planner, the sociologist, and indeed to any living mind in any country. All the work has the character of luminous originality; it reveals great resources of knowledge and experience, and a rare breadth of mind. As each problem comes before us, whether it be that of public health, drainage, housing, garden-design, schooling, university, voluntary co-operation for civic renewal, finance or whatever it may be, its universal aspects are developed together with its immediate application to India or to Indore. The author's deep appreciation of Eastern values and traditions often leads to criticism of educational and other supposed improvements which the Western official or specialist is only too ready to introduce. Much as we should like to do justice to some of the sections of the work and particularly to that dealing with the proposed University (in itself a book of moderate size) the task is impossible within the space of this notice, and the best we can do here is to try to perceive more clearly the essential principle which the book reveals, and the all-dominant problem to which it leads.

Its principle is, of course, religious. It is explicitly so. Let us freely condense a few paragraphs.

"A religion is the best, the highest, the deepest, co-ordination of life, in thought and action, ideal and practice, which a community, in its age, can imagine and express, and thus so far attain. The Ideal City is one of the standard conceptions of past religions; why not also of reviving ones?"

Again. "There is an old tradition that man had once long ago a home and a garden given him to care for. The story tells how he and his wife lost home and situation together; and these merely through yielding to what are our common modern desires, of things fair to the eye and sweet to the taste, and luxuries of "intellect and culture" as well; and it is thus plainly and psychologically true. The adjustment of our life and surroundings is thus not merely Geotechnic. It must also be spiritual: that is, not merely intellectual. It needs to be emotionally true, and thus practically, ethically sustained, accordingly."

"We are thus compelled to the admission that the essential problem of life is not material, but psychical. In a word, life needs to be religious. Education, now and everywhere the object of discussion and quest, is above all, and therefore in the first place, religious, or, to be more precise, re-religious. For only in the measure of our breadth and fulness of sympathy with nature and its powers, and with our fellow-men in their past and in their present; throughout all their varied groupings, in their present cares, sufferings and anxieties, in their hopes, aspirations and possibilities—only thus can we have any real understanding, worth the name, of science, much less of philosophy, morals or statesmanship. And only thus can we initiate the needed reconstruction of city and country."

"Our renewed university and school curricula will thus be again much like ancient ones. Though now upon our modern spiral, they must be once re-religious in spirit and re-constructive in effort."

Is this scientific wisdom, then, the mark of a new phase in the development

of religion? We cannot doubt that it is so, nor that we witness the early beginnings of a great era. Though this very vital mode of the religious spirit plainly inherits alike from Christian and Hellenic traditions, it would be idle to enquire what may be its ultimate relations with institutional religions. The important point is that the creative and regenerative spirit, which has so much abandoned these, is now effecting elsewhere a characteristic renewal of human life and social relations, and of thought and labour. And though for very good reasons nothing can disturb our allegiance to the most venerable institutions, we must at the same time acclaim a returning dawn.

Many have said in these years of catastrophe, "Why cannot the Church rise to her opportunity?" But she had no opportunity. Her opportunity existed, but was lost centuries ago, when religion abandoned its creative and directive function, and let mundane affairs go "anyhow," with this catastrophe as the latest inevitable consequence. The popular but false conception of religion, as an independent interest concerned with a future life, among many others, equally independent, which are concerned with this earthly scene, is hardly wonderful. For it is long since the Church has shown any original effort to do what Professor Geddes and others now set out to do; that is, to inspire and to organise the concrete detail of life—cities, villages, labours, leisure, property, production, social relations, arts and sciences, towards the ideal of a living paradise, a garden of the spirit. Yet this noble work, the organisation to love and peace, health, fruitfulness, and beauty, belongs essentially and historically to the character of true religion. The mediæval monastery is witness to this, and of this its cathedral is the monument. And we believe it will be found in the end that love of the Eterñal (not necessarily with regard to a "future life") has been and will always be the main influence in raising human existence.

And here we come to the great dominant problem of the future. We shall not be at all surprised if we find that Professor Geddes works it out to the very end. He has reminded us that "universities arose in the west from the discussion of the great problem of the thirteenth century, that of how to reconcile the prevailing doctrines and traditions of the Christian Church, with Greek thought, expressed in the recovered works of Aristotle." The same, though now upon a far higher and more general plane, is substantially the problem of the future; and its working out, which will not be chiefly discussion, must generate its own appropriate institutions. Certainly the "University Militant"; probably also other forms.

We may put the problem in this way. There has been a separation between love and understanding, to the incalculable detriment of both. Human life needs both and must receive both to the utmost, but in consequence of that inveterate separation has to put up with each of them mutilated and comparatively ineffective. In the past, each has miserably entrenched itself against the other, so as even to contradict its own nature; so that sometimes we have had not merely obscurantist religion, but the religion of sect and of hatred and crime; and sometimes understanding which was not merely blind and profane, but was actually imbecile. Matters are not now quite so bad as that. Mainly through a deeper love of humanity and sense of its needs and possibilities, love is seeking understanding, and understanding is seeking to do justice to the range of love. They are not long to remain inhuman separates. We may hope for the coronation of Wisdom.

Just because Professor Geddes has taken a great step in this direction, and very like the step which will count the most, we wish he could find how to go further, so as to complete his work. For the same reason we venture to indicate what part of it seems to remain incomplete. Let us discuss the question with

scientific freedom, and not trouble about the susceptibilities of partisans of one kind or another.

The religious instinct is an ineradicable function of our nature. Love goes out beyond the visible and intelligible to a system of objective perfections and influences. It goes out to the perfect Beauty and Goodness, and returns with peace, fortitude, humility and happiness. It returns with a sense of the sacredness and mystery of common things, and of the sacramental nature of labour and suffering; with that elevation of spirit and readjustment of values which are the supremely important element in Wisdom. Religion is therefore more than the love of our fellow men and nature, and more than a co-ordination of life. It is love, going out beyond sense and understanding, to Reality. Objectivity is of the essence of the matter. The fact that understanding cannot here accompany love does not in any way invalidate love's findings, nor justify us in assuming that the object of devotion is an ideal or other abstraction. Indeed, every mystic knows that ideals and abstractions are among the most dangerous of obstacles. This profound and universal instinct is an integral part of human nature, and is the dominant element in the love which our final synthesis must unite with understanding. Every religion is an organisation, for better or worse, of this love, and fulfils, well or ill, an indispensable social function. And some of these forms have been superlatively endowed with the genius of adoration and sanctity, and with inspiration for civic life.

As a life-long artist in town-planning, Professor Geddes has found that its problems and ideals develop until the art becomes as it were, the orchestration of all human capacities into a certain noble music. In valuing these different capacities, he has not failed to record the part which religion must play. But whereas in all other matters, and notably in respect of universities and of gardens, he has a wealth of constructive suggestion, there is little said of the Temple, commensurate with its proper determining influence. We would suggest, not only for Indore and India, that the Temple must be taken in hand. The movement to the civic ideal must be greatly daring. We have to institute a life so healthy that it shall expel selfishness, pride, greed, sloth and melancholy. We have to liberate the victims of machinery, gold and government; we have to sanctify and to organise industry, to moralise authority and obedience, and to discipline and to consecrate wealth. These things the Temple will not do. It has not the ghost of an idea of doing them. Yet for all this work we need the treasures of the Temple. Art is one and indivisible. But here in religion we have the inspiration; in the world of intellect and practice we have the technique; and though each is indispensable to the other, they are still separate and they both corrupt. Professor Geddes wants to inspire the city, to see it fulfil its meaning and destiny, to give it life and more life. He is himself inspired in the highest degree, and naturally enough discounts that inspiration. But there is ever the danger, for the city, of at best an elegant and ingenious mediocrity, soon tiresome, unless its life is keyed up to the central mystery of the Temple, which is the mystery of everyone who has looked into the heart of a flower or the eyes of a child. Without that mystery we should never have had the Parthenon and all that Athens has meant. Nor anything else worth having.

First in this enterprise, though many will follow him, Professor Geddes is moving quite simply to the final reunion of love and understanding, of inspiration and technique, and therefore to the representation again of holy Wisdom in a distracted world.

GEORGE SANDEMAN.

THE COMMUNITY OF WORK. By Frances and George Sandeman. A. H. Stockwell.

"The most frequent objection to communal activity is that unanimity is difficult. More accurately, it is either easy or impossible, according to whether it is put first or second." (p. 38.)

This is not the discovery of a theorist, but the practical finding of at least two people who have agreed to support one another without reservation in the effort to subordinate egoism to altruism. The value of these forty pregnant pages lies in the fact that they are real. As in George Sandeman's earlier book, "*Social Renewal*," written before the war, there is here an utterly sane and balanced outlook on things as they have been and things as they are, a resolute facing of facts, and an equally resolute determination to preserve the beauty that clings to the ugliest of them; it must be added that the power to take an imaginative leap from this firm platform into the unknown future is as conspicuously absent from the new work as it was from the old.

The new element which quickens these pages is something far more precious at this moment; it consists in the clear enunciation of the method by which ordinary men and women may instantly go forward into an ideal future.

"If a man confides in that cry of the revolution—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,—let him enact it with his hands; let him give liberty, discover equality, establish fraternity—for he can do all these things; only let him *act*, and he will find that these are not matters for politics and the press, but for the entire, familiar, everyday texture of social relations. But this *realism* is the greatest difficulty of all to the modern mind, which fails in understanding chiefly because it is not prepared to *act*. In all this matter knowledge cannot proceed a single step except hand in hand with action; they are scarcely distinguishable functions of that personal and social *life* which is the actual seat of all achievement. The cultivation of ordinary life in its simplicity and its universality . . . is the simplest yet by far the most worthy and effective work to which any of us can put his hands."

"There are plainly two very different methods open to us which may be distinguished respectively as the extensive or empirical method and the intensive or germinal method. The former is very popular and widely followed; its means are political and its end is socialism. The other which we believe to be the only effective method, and destined eventually to supersede its rival, is at present neither generally understood nor practised. Its means are ethical, and its end is an ever higher degree of co-operation and social cohesion.

The germinal method proceeds by way of planting a seed. The great historical example of this method is the Christian religion, whose founder described it by various similitudes. The kingdom of Heaven is as a seed, which presently grows to become a great tree; or as leaven, which presently leavens the whole lump. We believe that our social questions will be solved, and the future of civilization redirected, by the germinal method; and that the seed thereto will be identical with the seed of Christ."

"When it comes to be a question of creating society or civilization—for it *has* come to that—there is nothing to be thought of except a deliberate *realization* of the love of the divine perfections and of our brothers. The realization is for us to make; its further results must be left to the laws governing these matters. This is plainly a case for the germinal method, and not for any which seeks to achieve particular results. No other method but the germinal is at all applicable to human affairs, which change swiftly and in fashions uncontrollable and unforeseen."

"We need Community as a nursery of wisdom, a college of understanding. There is nowhere to present a school of research into the matter which most nearly

affects every individual and most deeply concerns the welfare of society—namely, comparative values; there is no demonstration of what is and what is not worth time and labour, worthy of love and worship, worth achievement. We have schools of metaphysics, but none of the profounder knowledge which deserves the name of philosophy.”

While most of us, like children huddled together on this crowded platform of the present, are advising each other to keep close-shut eyes and stand still, or else leaping desperately into the unknown, the authors of this little book have stepped quietly down and are finding a road. They are not quite alone. When the several small groups which have learnt thus to combine in one mind courage with caution, thought with action, knowledge with faith, join hands in a common enterprise, the rule of the new dispensation will have begun.

“Take no thought, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed? for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye *first* the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you.”

The reviewer is distributing a dozen copies of the book among his friends, and proposes to get into personal touch with the authors without delay. His advice to others is to do likewise.

N. GLAISHER.

ZIONIST LITERATURE.

THE HISTORY OF ZIONISM, 1600—1918. By N. Sokolow. Longman's and Co.
2 vols.

THIS is a book of reference which no student of Zionism can do without, written by a leading Zionist who has already published nine other contributions to the Cause. From the first chapters, in one of which it is suggested that Aristotle was influenced by the Jewish learning, to the last, which describes the laying of the foundation stone of the Hebrew University on Mt. Scopus, the book is filled with material which will be new to many readers among the Gentiles—and also to many among the Jews. “Ancient Israel,” Mr. Sokolow ends, “reawakened to a new life, is preparing itself to enter the family of nations as a small but free nation in its old home.”

To give extracts from such a history would be but to distort it: the history of the Jews since the Biblical times is scarcely known at all by the Gentiles or by unorthodox Jews. Even the orthodox themselves doubtless did not know all that Mr. Sokolow tells so well, although to be sure a portion of every religious service is given up to reciting the racial history. In writing this book, the author has done a great service to the race, and his work will be used in the future as the writings of other great Hebrew historians have been up to his time.

The volume is illustrated with photographs of living interest, opening with a portrait of Dr. Herzl, the great Dreamer in Israel to whom the modern phase of Zionism owes its foundation. The illustrations were selected and arranged by Israel Solomons, and they include a reproduction of the painting (by Hart, R.A., which hangs in Jews' College, London), of the conference between Manasseh Ben-Israel and Oliver Cromwell in 1655. Several chapters are devoted to Manasseh and the readmission of Jews into England, and to the Puritan friends whom they found here. This is a side of English history of which all too little has been generally taught, for it is a signal fact that here ever since that momentous conference, and in no other country until in modern Italy, has justice been done to the Jews. All over the world Jews know that in England there has been an attitude of tolerance

for centuries towards their people, and it has been well said that every Jew would like to be a British subject!

From the seventeenth century onwards there have been schemes in England for the "restoration of Palestine to the Jews," but not until George Elliott wrote "Daniel Deronda" was any of this literature put into artistic or popular shape. It existed chiefly in the form of pamphlets.

Mr. Sokolow does not dwell too long on the past, and by his thirteenth chapter he has reached Napoleon's campaign in Palestine, subsequently describing how Napoleon convened a Jewish "Sanhedrin" in Paris, of which a record exists in picture form, and is here reproduced from a contemporary print. Portraits of several of the Jews then present are also included, in these chapters, reproduced from rare prints of the period.

In the early nineteenth century the Zionist idea revived with renewed force in England among students of theology and religious persons, and found its best emotional expression in the poetry of Lord Byron.

Many Englishmen about this time even went so far as to predict the "restoration of Israel." Much of the subsequent English history in connection with the Jews here is well known, and Mr. Sokolow proceeds to a study of our treatment of the Jews and the Jewish question in the East. In the Palmerston period there arose a great Anglo-Jewish pioneer in the picturesque person of Sir Moses Montefiore, and the project for "Cultivation of the Land in Palestine" found in him an enthusiastic supporter. In short, the "Zionist" idea has had a long and an unbroken history in England, "and it links together periods and men of the most widely different convictions and emotions."

There follows a long period of help and hope and of sympathy, too, from the English people, official, religious and in general, towards the Jewish faith, and in suggestions for the recovery of their land.

This has however so complicated and difficult a history that it cannot even be outlined in so brief a review, though it is clearly and artistically set forth in the book itself. Five strong supporters of the Cause in the last century were Joseph Chamberlain, the Earl of Shaftesbury, George Elliott, James Finn, and Laurence Oliphant, but there were also many others; and public opinion in England was against the fearful outrages perpetrated in Russia in the pogroms of 1881 and 1882, which have, alas! had many counterparts in recent years.

From the launching of modern Zionism there grew up quite a large new literature on the subject; and there were Jewish pioneers who went and actually worked the soil in Palestine themselves. From this grew those prosperous Jewish Colonies, of which, by now, many of us have heard.

Throughout the book the names of Englishmen and of Jews are interlaced, and again this is so in the last events to which most of the second volume is devoted.

Mr. Balfour has contributed to it an introduction which touches upon some of the thorny difficulties of the movement with tact and insight. He says "that it will settle the Jewish question I dare not hope; but that it will tend to promote that mutual sympathy and comprehension which is the only sure basis of toleration I firmly believe."

A. D.

TWO RECENT PAMPHLETS.

The British Zionist Federation has issued an address on "Zionist Policy," by Dr. Weizmann, which was delivered recently. With it should go the pamphlet which contains the speech made by the Right Hon. Herbert Samuel at the meeting in the London Opera House, held to celebrate the second anniversary of Mr. Balfour's declaration of Nov. 1917. On the occasion of Mr. Samuel's speech a

letter from the Foreign Secretary, Lord Curzon, assured the Jews that "there has been no change in the policy of the Government with regard to the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine." A. D.

A NOVEL OF JERUSALEM.

Two volumes of lighter reading are (1) "Palestine," by Pierre Loti; and "A Little Daughter of Jerusalem," by Miriam Harvy, who was born in the Holy City. George Moore's "The Brook Kerith; A Syrian Tale," should also be read. It is a fine literary achievement, and brings the New Testament story near to the Jewish understanding, while any Unitarian could also accept it. In the books Palestine, its peoples, and its conditions of life, past and present, are well pictured. A. D.

MAN, PAST AND PRESENT. By A. H. Keane. Revised and largely re-written by A. Hingston Quiggin and A. C. Haddon. Cambridge: University Press, 1920. 36/-.

If one were simply intent on picking faults one might show that this hardly amounts to the ideal treatise on ethnology for which students have long been waiting. On the other hand, it is due alike to the wide knowledge and grasp of the late Professor Keane, and to the infinite care and sartorial skill of Mrs. Hingston Quiggin and of Professor Haddon, whose authority is behind her work, to testify to the high scientific value of this new edition of a rather old book. The difficulty was to preserve the spirit, no less than a good deal of the matter, of the original, and yet to incorporate the results, whether positive or negative, which have accrued from anthropological research during the present century. If the two editions be compared line by line, it becomes pretty clear that at the outset the intention was to alter the text as little as possible; but that, the need for a free hand becoming ever more apparent as they proceeded, the editors were at length emboldened to transform whole sections in the light of the latest information. Finally, allowance must be made for the fact that, under recent conditions, a work of this size could not be printed and issued very quickly; so that a few novelties of 1918 or a still later time are missing in the present record. When all is said, however, by the most captious critic, he will have to allow that it is a veritable *tour de force* to have thus given a new lease of life to a standard work which all respect. The student has now a handbook—rather an expensive one, it is true—which will enable him to bring to a head his anthropological interests, however heterogeneous they may have seemed before, by concentrating them on the problem of the formation and distribution of peoples.

"Peoples"? it may be objected, "why not races"? Because, as Keane wisely maintains, the ethnic group is not the product of heredity in the strict sense that applies to individuals. Common descent no doubt helps largely to make it what it is; but so also does common geographical environment and likewise a common language, together with the manifold other influences summed up in the word culture. Indeed, it is remarkable how Keane, who professionally was a philologist, strives to hold the balance fairly as between the various factors in the development of society. If he favours one proof of historic continuity rather than the rest, it is the argument from similarity in regard to physique. The editors, therefore, were perfectly justified in adopting as their basis of ethnic classification a somatological difference, namely, that between the woolly, straight and wavy types of hair. This yields a more definite criterion than any that Keane was able to suggest, and at the same time enables them to dispense with Keane's attempt to refer racial differentiation to an age-long geographical isolation—a postulate which entails historical difficulties, and at the same time is unnecessary on a Mendelian view of the workings of heredity. On the other hand, the need for a treatment of prehistoric

problems is no longer so vital to the main purpose of the book; and we may fairly say of the new edition that it is chiefly useful as a guide to the actual distribution of the world's peoples.

Meanwhile, with this work of moderate compass before him the student will have an excellent opportunity of surveying the progress of modern ethnological research. As regards Europe, we seem to have settled down to the triple division initiated by Sergi into the Mediterranean, Alpine, and Nordic types; only on the subject of the races of the far past are there new results to be assimilated. Africa has on the whole been somewhat scandalously neglected; though the Bushmen question, assisted by the study of the extinct Strandloopers, shows a certain liveliness. Asia, especially Central Asia, is big with possibilities, which science is not yet quite ready to convert into probabilities. America still maintains a sort of Monroe doctrine in respect to its anthropology. An original and perhaps not very remote connection with Asia by way of Behring Strait is admitted, but trans-Pacific influences are cast back by Americanists into the teeth of those who assert them. The Pacific is, in fact, the ethnological storm-centre. With its myriads of islands, each of them capable of arresting some passing wave of immigrant culture while other waves roll by, it affords an ideal field for the application of what Mill would call the joint method of agreement and difference. Even in this region, however, the work of the ethnologist is signalized by its promise rather than by its performance. At most we may say that here an ethnological method is being slowly and painfully forged which is in time destined to revolutionize the study of history the wide world over. That this is so is likely to be the verdict of anyone who follows up the indications copiously supplied in the present volume.

R. R. MARETT.

NEW EDITIONS OF ELLWOOD.

THE lively recollections which many members of the Sociological Society doubtless have of Professor Ellwood (he having spent a large part of his Sabbatical year amongst us not long ago) will be quickened by the recent issue of the new and revised edition of two of his best known books. His "Sociology and Modern Social Problems" was originally written as an elementary text for use in high schools, colleges, and reading circles where it is desired to combine the study of sociology with a study of current social problems on the one hand, and to correlate it with a course of economics on the other. There is undoubtedly a growing demand for a simple, concrete text in sociology in which methodological discussions are reduced to a minimum and the facts are drawn as far as possible from contemporary social life. And, going further than that, one may fairly assume that students of sociology increasingly expect their reading to shed some direct illumination on contemporary problems. To meet this situation, Professor Ellwood has revised his book by a further incorporation, not only of current issues, but also of the general problems of reconstruction, treated as items in an applied science of sociology.

As a general text book the work illustrates the chief factors in social organization and evolution, and so the elementary principles of sociology, by the study of concrete problems, especially through the study of the origin, development, structure and functions of the family considered as a typical human institution. Indeed, Professor Ellwood declares that he would be tempted to affirm "that the study of the family is to sociology what the study of the cell, or cytology, is to biology, if one were not afraid of being accused of employing the organic analogy!" He commends the study of the history of individual families through several generations as a form of sociological investigation, suited to elementary students which will bring out clearly the biological and psychological forces shaping our social life. The

making of such family monographs, together with the making of one or more community surveys, he suggests, might indeed, become the necessary laboratory or field work in an elementary course of sociology.

To bring out the factors and principles of social life, not illustrated by the family, a number of other concrete social problems are studied. These are indicated in the headings of certain chapters, such as "The Growth of Population," "The Problem of the City," "Poverty and Pauperism," "Crime."

Another of Professor Ellwood's books recently issued in a new and revised edition is his "Introduction to Social Psychology" (Appleton, New York). In this book, offered as an introduction not only to social psychology but to the social sciences in general Ellwood has brought up to date, simplified and systematized the contents of an earlier volume, *Sociology in its Psychic Aspects*.

Considerable space is devoted to a defence of the thesis that as the "psychic element" is the "constituent principle of social life," therefore psychology is the key to the mysteries of social life. It is not maintained that other factors than the psychical are unimportant, but the hereditary, the geographical, and the economic factors are regarded as exerting their action on society through the psychical. "The explanation of social phenomena is to be sought in the underlying traits and dispositions of the individual, in the influence of the environment which acts upon his plastic nature, and in the resultant aims and standards which he develops."

In the chapters on "Organic and Social Revolution" and on "Human Nature and Human Society," two main theses regarding the origin of the human mind and its nature are set down: (1) The appearance of the mental life, both in its instinctive and intellectual aspects is the result of variations, selected because of their superior utility in bringing about control of the organism over its physical and social environments. (2) Human nature is not passive, it is active and selective. It organizes by "taking up from the environment whatever it needs in order to aid it in adapting itself to its surroundings."

When Ellwood affirms that the distinctive feature of man's social life, compared with animal associations, is to be traced in the main to his higher intellectual development, he may seem to maintain the traditional intellectual theory of social life. That, however, is not his meaning, for he holds that "the social development which we find in humanity is, in principle, the same as the social development which we find in animals below man."

The central part of the book treats of the nature of social unity and continuity and of social change. Then he returns to the section on the social life, of instinct and of intelligence, and discusses imitation, suggestion, and sympathy. Two other chapters treat respectively of social order and social progress. In the first are discussed the means of social control, *i.e.* government, law, religion, and morality. In the second, the anthro-geographical, the biological or ethnological, the economic, and the psychological theories of progress are considered and set aside for his own theory, called "sociological." He holds that in order to formulate an adequate theory of social progress, we must transcend the strictly psychological viewpoints. "The sociological theory of progress must find a place for favorable physical and geographical conditions, the biological factors of heredity and selection, the economic factors of the production and distribution of wealth, and the psychic factors of knowledge, standards, and emotional attitudes."

The final chapter reviews the three customary theories of the nature of society: the contractual, the organic, the psychological. He accepts the last only when broadened so as to include all the psychical elements in human behavior and even "biological conditions and forces." Thus understood the psychological theory is made to furnish a basis for the synthesis of other theories. It is set forth in these

words: "The explanation of human social life is to be sought in the underlying traits and dispositions of men, in the influences of the environment which act upon their plastic natures, and in the resultant aims and standards which they develop. The social process, according to this theory, is not purely subjective but is psychic more strictly the social process may be described as a psycho-physical process of coadaptive adjustment among individuals."

The well-chosen references placed at the end of each chapter will admirably meet the needs of class-room readers and of private students.

QUO VADIS?

MILITARISM IN EDUCATION. By John Langdon-Davies. The Swartmore Press, Ltd., 72, Oxford Street, W.1.

WHITHER is the modern world tending? What signs of a change of heart and purpose can we descry since the great war in which the "industrial, imperial and financial" phase of our civilization culminated? The saddest thing in all the sad after-war world is to some of us the absence of any general call by the Christian church to the world on the one hand to repent of the past and substitute different ideals for the future, and on the other to make good as far as may be the losses of the war by avoidance of luxury and the eschewing of the craving for riches, while developing new habits of plain living and high thinking. In a word, the church so far is not on any general scale teaching us how to make peace and ensue it. It is not protesting against the continuation of great armaments or imperialist ambitions abroad, or yet against the general spirit of speculation and the desire to get rich quick at the expense of the community at home. In the absence of any general and organized protest and teaching from our spiritual pastors it is left to a few sporadic writers such as Mr. John Langdon-Davies to warn us whither we are tending. Mr. Davies shows that we are in danger of adopting in our state schools the system which brought about the Prussianization of Germany. Prussia may yet, in contemplating the ensuing partial Prussianization of Europe, find that its defeat is a moral victory. Does not Prussia after all represent more fully than any other country the essence of modernity in civilization? If we doubt this we may do well to consider the case of Japan which has put itself to school in Europe for the last fifty years, and the result of that schooling.

Mr. Davies shows in detail the increasing resemblance between our system and the German as regards its general lines, but, far more important, he shows the tendency which is developing to instil the same spirit of state worship into our children under the guise of "teaching patriotism," which has been the undoing of Germany and almost of Europe. Mr. Davies quotes the Education Committee, for instance, of the county of Southampton as laying it down that "to no other end can the energies of teachers from the highest to the lowest be more profitably directed than in cultivating patiently, consistently, ceaselessly, the spirit of patriotism." One rubs one's eyes and asks, is it so completely out of date to believe that the pursuit of Christianity is our first of spiritual quests? When it comes to determining the spiritual order of things does the Bishop of the diocese have nothing to say in the matter? Or are we to assume that in the general valuation, as in that of the Educational Authority, patriotism comes before Christianity? In the old-fashioned view of Christian morality, the child was taught to think first not of any abstraction, however fine, but of his neighbour, and thereafter he learned that his neighbours are those with whom he has to do, whether fellow countrymen or not. The place of patriotism, according to this scheme of ethics, is in an ascending scale which begins with the home and ends only with the world. In an illuminating passage Mr. Langdon-Davies goes on to point out what this other kind of patriotism is, and

that it leads on to European citizenship and to world citizenship. "It is the love and pride in one's country's spiritual contribution to the universe. Such ideals are at the basis of the Danish folk high schools, where the adolescent is taught to revere his country's spirit as it is revealed in folk song and mythology, in music and in art; to familiarize himself with his country's temperament, its gift to the world; to express in himself all that is best in this spiritual heritage." Such teaching would for us mean the abatement of the threatened state domination, for the idea for which England stands and has stood historically is freedom, and it is just this freedom which seems to be in danger to-day. This book would perhaps be stronger in appeal if it emphasized this positive side of the English tradition which the present generation is in some peril of forgetting, but which appeals strongly to us when it is brought out from the dusty hiding places to which our masters consign it nowadays. Mr. Davies however assumes our national liking for freedom, and shows in detail how militarism in education tends to lower personality and forms the habit of rule by others instead of self-rule. He shows how the Boy Scout movement at its best contrasts with cadet corps and officers' training corps in developing just those habits of self-reliance and self-help which are needed to make a worthy citizen. The book supplies a much needed warning, and is a useful commentary on the danger of substituting state worship for the higher religion in which the spiritual heritage of our nation is set as a jewel in a pendant. S. B.



The Sociological Society.

PROGRAMME FOR SUMMER TERM.

Notice of the following meetings at Leplay House for the Summer Term has been sent to members of the Society.

SUMMER TERM, 1920.

MEETINGS AT LEPLAY HOUSE,

65, Belgrave Road, Westminster.

April 23rd to May 21st.

Open daily, 10 a.m.—6 p.m.

Exhibition of Methods of Organization.

M. BRUCE WILLIAMS.

May 11th.

4-30 p.m. Tea.

5-15 p.m. "The Smoke Curse and our New Homes."

Dr. SALEEBY.

June 1st.

8-0 p.m. "Social Finance."

JOHN ROSS.

June 15th.

8-0 p.m. "The War-Mind."

Exhibition of Posters.

June 29th.

Formal Opening of Leplay House.

4-30 p.m. Tea.

5-15 p.m. Demonstrations.

7-30 p.m. Refreshments.

8-15 p.m. Demonstrations.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

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AUTUMN, 1920.

THE URBAN COMPLEX.

A STUDY OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF URBAN DRIFT.

THE movement of people from the country districts to town and city has social causes as well as economic. The urban environment by the mere fact of density of population makes an appeal to a multitude of people who desire satisfactions that the country with its scattered inhabitants cannot provide. Any investigation of the motives that bring country people to town or keep them there will reveal the force of the social appeal of the urban environment. Men and women who are without work will cling to the city in most cases even when offered employment at good wages in the country. Others under stress of circumstances will accept work in the country only to find after a brief period of service that they cannot endure an environment which seems so empty of interests and void of pleasures.

The following incident illustrates this attitude of mind: "Governor Eberhart of Minnesota tells of a visit he made to Minneapolis in a harvest emergency, for labourers to gather wheat. The farmers were at their wits' ends to save their crops. It was said that the city was full of the unemployed. He found them, as he says, seated on the park benches in all sections of the city and overflowing to the kerb stones. Work, it seemed, could not be found. Some of the men were on the verge of starvation. It looked as if his task would be an easy one and he could take back as many men as he wished. He picked out his men and told them he wanted their help. They were eager for the chance and said they could do anything. He spoke of the service he had in mind in the country and on the farms, when instantly their faces fell and they were as glum as they had been before. Their answer was: 'We don't want to go to the country, boss. We don't want to live on a farm. There's nothin' for us there—no life, no entertainment, no lights—nothin' but monotony and work. We'd rather stay in the city and starve than go to the country an' have nothin'

to do but work. No, sir, we stay right here.' And stay they did. He couldn't get one of them to go with him, and the farmers had to harvest their wheat as best they could while the city held in its grasp, unemployed, enough men to garner all the crops of the state."

The psychological causes of urban drift are socially most sinister. They may run counter to economic forces that tend to provide a reasonable balance between rural and urban population and thus they may draw people to the city in opposition to the welfare of the community or the individual. The gregarious instinct of men has been greatly intensified by the urban standards of life that have been popularized by the magnitude of modern industrialism. Into every country home goes to-day as a result of the power, prestige, and avidity of the modern city, an invitation to the gratification of gregarious desires. The mail that brings contact with the neighbouring city and thus provides the means of enjoying in the country some of the advantages of urban culture also calls attention to the dominance of city standards. Even the news of the day must be read in urban setting. The city reaches into every hamlet and awakens desires that demand for their final satisfaction life conditions that only the town or city can provide.

The greatest single propulsion toward city life comes at the present time from the exaggeration of the gregarious instinct. Although modern invention and present circumstances of life provide the means for a greater degree of comfortable dissociation than ever could have been in the past, the mass of people have turned from the individual satisfactions made available and have sought with the greatest intensity gregarious pleasures. Men and women as never before wish to feel the zest of herd-joys; in both work and play they detest isolation. The city street with its crowds becomes a source of pleasurable sensations that can hardly be had elsewhere. The gregarious satisfactions furnished by the urban environment captivate the senses quickly and increase their tyranny with the passing of time. Country-bred men and women have been known in a few short months to become so saturated with herd cravings as to find even a short visit to their parent's country home unendurable, and in spite of genuine affection they have sought in vain to control an intense restlessness for familiar gregarious experiences. The old community seems literally a dead thing; a social situation without density of population lacks meaning and animation. The present trend appears to be toward a self-chosen enslavement of the mass of people as a result of an unreasonable emphasis upon gregarious satisfactions. Public thinking and public activity were never more influenced by gregarious impulses. Nearly every type of propaganda originates in

the city and is directed from it. The city thinking which assumes national dictatorship is permeated with gregarious superstition and concerns itself with gregarious gossip and trivialities. A street occurrence of little or no significance to the passer-by will quickly gather a crowd and hold a busy merchant on an important mission even when he has no chance of satisfying his gregarious curiosity. The urban-manipulated fashion due to the gregarious servitude readily accepted by the majority of city dwellers grips an entire territory with no regard to comfort, health, or æsthetics.

Governments are unable to disregard the herd desires of the people, and by their policies magnify the importance of the gregarious cravings until it becomes a public axiom that provision should be made for the useless and the spectacular even in times of stress if only a multitude of people may be brought into the streets to revel in the joys of closest proximity. Administrations rise and fall by their ability or inability to make a gregarious appeal. Calm judgment is stolen by the mob, led perhaps by a mere youth, and a mass of well-meaning men and women carry out the most savage and irrational programme under the spell of a gregarious debauchery.

The superior opportunities of the city for the satisfying of the human craving for power bring many people out of the country into the urban environment. This element in the attractiveness of the city has not received the consideration it deserves, for, under the conditions of present social life, it indulges hankerings rooted in both instincts and education. The desires of men and women that may properly be grouped together because of a common yearning for power are many, impetuous, deep-seated. The instincts of pugnacity and self-assertion support this human hunger for power which, by social influence, is so largely transformed into impulses of rivalry. The initial part it has played in the past in the drama of human experience, especially in social struggles, demonstrates how firmly it has been built into the human personality and how impossible it is to ignore it in any attempt to understand a significant social movement.

The country has as much opportunity for struggle as have the city and the town. The form of contest provided by the country environment is not, however, that which appeals to the average modern person. Any effort to produce the maximum yield from an acre of land is certainly a striving of the wits and energy of men to win control of the forces of nature. But this type of contest occupies so long a period and is so prosaic in its appeal to the average imagination that it affords no satisfaction for the combative instincts. Rivalry there surely is in the country, but it is on so small a scale and generally so lacking in spectacular expressions,

that it cannot captivate the aggressive desires of many men and women.

The city teems with contest. Rivalry in myriad forms is everywhere. The city draws to itself the commanding person in whom love of battle is paramount. From all sections the aggressive people are brought together and given every possible opportunity to develop this craving for power. They set the pace and the entire community follows after, each man doing the best he can in the fascinating free-for-all struggle. Contest invades even monotonous toil and makes industry a never-ending battle between employer and employee. Competition colours the recreational life. Wealth is used generally for some form of distinction. Even charity is supported by funds that need to be credited to the giver by skilful publicity or, lacking an appeal to self-assertion, the benevolence falters for means of support. The sports are of course always competitive and only in the city can they be staged on a tremendous scale. To be sure the newspapers send out the daily records to the most distant hamlets, but these reports are the mere skeletons of the events that in the city thousands witnessed. Indeed the press account only deepens the impression that the city has the normal conditions of life even in ways of recreation and in contrast the country appears bare.

The mere pressing together of population, the congestion of the city, gives the impression of bigness. Even the poorest inhabitant may have the sense of dwelling in an atmosphere of importance and power, and in some vicarious fashion may identify himself with the greatness of urban environment even if irritated by his own exclusion from so many of its advantages. The mob flatters each individual caught by its passion and magnifies self-importance to the point of intoxication. The crowded city street always has the quiescent conditions of a state of mob. The usual person in a crowd feels the potential power of the mass; by his mere presence he accumulates suggestions of irresistible might. Unless he identifies himself with this man-power the crowd becomes an alien force and he flees from it with morbid fear. Thus craving for power does its part in collecting the city throngs; the gregarious pull is re-enforced by the vigour of mass suggestions.

Urban life provides certain peculiar and temporary experiences of dominance. One need not be wealthy to enjoy for an occasional brief period the customary luxuries of affluence. For a very small expenditure one may act like a prince at the café and satiate the love of command by the temporary obsequiousness of the waiter. The tip itself flourishes in the city and continues largely because of the satisfactions it gives those who enjoy the feeling of superiority. Even the relationship of the employer and employee must

in the country usually have a degree of equality. Condescension irritates. Money will buy service but seldom subserviency. The transitory contacts of urban commerce, however, permit fictitious attitudes of sycophancy and for the moment give the buyer a sense of self-importance that delights his craving for power.

An analysis of the psychological aspects of city drift necessarily includes suggestion. Suggestion may be defined as "an indirect appeal which awakens a determining tendency in such a way that the subject has more the sense of acting on his own initiative than of responding to external influence."¹ Recent psychological discoveries have given emphasis to the large part suggestion plays in the careers of men and women especially when it is allied with the results of early childhood impressions. As psychology advances toward a causal understanding of human conduct more and more it reveals the commanding importance that belongs to the impressions of childhood and early youth. It is increasingly clear that much of the happenings of adult life can be explained only when they are brought into relation with the events of childhood.

Early experiences that prepare the way for the later influence of suggestion upon adult decisions contribute their share of the causes of rural migration. Country-life conditions have given in the past the suggestion to many young men and women that farming is an occupation of exceptional toil. This fact is often revealed by the statements of city people who were brought up on a farm. It is one of the most common reasons given for the leaving of the farm life, and, even if it may not be the chief reason for the removal to the city as often as is affirmed, it surely plays a significant rôle in rural migration. These suggestions that farming has excessive need of toil are often gathered from the remarks of parents and older people in the presence of children. Discouraged and discontented fathers and mothers who dwell on the hardships of country life originate suggestions that influence some of the young people who leave the country for the town and city. These criticisms of farming and of country community conditions are not uncommon among country people, and when often made in the presence of children the latter can hardly fail to develop antagonism to the country environment. Farming is the only occupation where dissatisfaction with the results of one's labour easily passes into an attack upon the environment itself. The farmer cannot change his occupation as a rule without moving to a radically different environment. Personal disappointments and dissatisfactions in this fashion are apt finally to colour one's attitude toward the country environment itself.

1. Gault: "Suggestion and Suggestibility." *American Journal of Sociology*, September 1919.

A small matter that may at times lead to deep-set dislike of the country is the grievance the schoolboy feels when his plans for a holiday are interfered with by the necessity of his helping his father on the farm. This experience, although trivial to the adult, may linger long in the mind of a child and alienate him from country-life interests.

Education in all its forms is ever in danger in the country of giving the growing boy and girl urban ambitions and urban ideals. Until recently the content of study in country schools insidiously undermined the natural attractions of the country. The urban point of view was both consciously and unconsciously emphasized by the teacher who was generally ill-prepared to interpret the value of country interests to the children, and who was herself often dissatisfied with the conditions of life in the country. As has long been recognized, the preacher also frequently brought to the young people of his church urban attitudes and urban cravings that added to the appeal of the cities and thus encouraged the urban drift. If these suggestions from teachers and ministers induced the boy and girl most fitted for urban life to leave home for a proper field of activity it is also true that the same influence sent others to the city who naturally would have remained on the farm and prospered.

Considerable progress during the last decade has been made in the correction of this urbanizing influence of the public schools in Western countries, and notably, perhaps, the United States. Teachers have become sympathetic toward the opportunities of the open country. Preachers also have become conscious of the danger of "the urban-mind," and in many cases have acted as interpreters to country people of the resources and satisfactions of rural life. However, there are still teachers in country schools and preachers in country churches who have their faces set toward the city and whose influence necessarily reinforces the movement of the country population to the cities.

The urban advantage in social prestige has influenced rural people through suggestion, and has added another motive for moving to the city. The city furnishes the conditions for political and commercial distinction and for the accumulation of great wealth. Production by machinery affords opportunity for administrative ability and technical skill, and the executive and the artisan are the best paid in their respective classes. These representatives of modern industry by their large earnings set the standard for brain and hand work and both of them flourish only in an urban environment. Unconsciously these two classes are accepted as typical illustrations of the advantages of urban opportunity, for the standard of life of the unskilled labourers in the cities has never succeeded in off-setting the prestige created by the spectacular

success of the man of "big-business," or by the high wages of the skilled worker. The rural occupation, on the other hand, has never received a just social appreciation. Unfortunately farming permits a man with little ability, shiftless in his habits and lacking in energy, somehow to exist on a low standard of life, and this type in the country has attracted greater attention than he deserves and given farming less prestige as an occupation than belongs to it. The hazardous character of farming, the effect of season and natural conditions that cannot wholly be anticipated even by the most efficient of farmers, makes it impossible for the intelligent farmer to demonstrate the full measure of his superiority. Thus rural efficiency never gets all the social recognition to which it is entitled.

The complete force of urban suggestion along lines of occupational prestige cannot be revealed until it is frankly admitted how much of late social thinking has discounted manual labour. This fact is especially disclosed by the increasing difficulty of getting women to perform domestic service even when the economic returns offered are greater than they can obtain in the other occupations open to them. In somewhat the same way but unfortunately in less degree there has grown up in the social mind an estimation of occupational desirability which has placed the professions and even clerking above farming. Perhaps the need of wearing "working clothes" when farming has had something to do with this creation of false occupational colour.

Its superior community resources have also given the city a prestige which enters country thinking and suggests the inferiority of the rural environment. The city is accepted as the community standard merely because the gathering of population into narrow limits makes possible a vast number of social enterprises.

The prestige of the city is by no means accepted by all country people. Many react to the suggestion negatively; the evils of the urban environment are given excessive emphasis. Psychologically, however, this hostility to the urban civilization often reveals the deeply-felt force of urban prestige which is resented but which nevertheless is not without influence.

A profound psychological cause of urban drift is the increasing modern appetite for exciting sense stimulation. This craving is more significant than that which springs from any instinct, for it represents the original need of the mind. Consciousness demands stimulation, for only so can it function and fulfil its biological destiny. It is the business of mind to attend. By its activities in response to stimuli from the environment the mind both gathers knowledge and obtains inward satisfactions.

The present craving among Occidental peoples for intense quantitative sense experiences is of course no new human experi-

ence. The new element in the situation consists of the forms it takes as a result of the wonderful opportunities for violent stimulation made possible by applied science. The intensity, the variety, and the accessibility of myriad forms of exciting stimulants, artificially created by modern industry, constitute a new order of human experience. The new opportunities bring forth new needs until there results an unparalleled appetite for stimulation of quantitative character. Much of the labour and much of the wealth of the present age is consumed in feeding this worldwide hunger for intense, artificial sense experience. Science has developed more rapidly than has man's appreciation of the best uses of its enormous resources.

It is only the city, however, that can furnish the necessary conditions for the largest amount of this type of quantitative sense experience. The country by contrast seems to those who have once tasted with satisfaction urban intensities a dull place with little that invigorates the mind. People in the city crowd together not merely because they are gregarious. The close contact, the massing of persons, also makes possible a multitude of quantitative sense pleasures that can by no means be duplicated in the country. The country may more and more obtain the advantages of modern invention, but its meagre population forbids its ever competing at this point favourably with the city. It must lag behind in its ability to supply exciting experiences on a scale easily provided by urban environment. It has a handicap imposed by the inherent limitations of rural life and in this age a handicap of large social significance.

The appeal of city pleasures goes out to rural people. By word of mouth, by the daily press, by commercial propaganda, through advertising, the attractions of the city along all lines of quantitative sense experiences are brought to the notice of country people. The force of this in turning many toward the cities is not likely to be over-estimated.

We have no reason to suppose that the appeal of quantitative stimulation will have less influence over the next generation. The opposite seems likely to prove true. The precocious introduction given most children to the exciting pleasures of the moving picture, the automobile and other recent additions to society's equipment for quantitative experiences, will surely create in them an appetite more exacting than that of their parents for conditions of life that necessarily can be had only in the cities. The next decade, unless in some way there can come a reaction against present tendencies, is destined to see urban life adding to its social attractiveness and rural isolation becoming more and more oppressive for an increasing number of people.

The rural environment is by no means destitute of fascinating sense stimuli. It naturally abounds in interests. All it requires is capacity for appreciation. The tasks of farming may be either pure toil or achievement. Which fact will be uppermost is determined by the attitude of the worker. Farming is really less monotonous than the work of most city dwellers; it can be carried on with a zest difficult to duplicate in most urban employment. The great stretches of land also may seem either dreary spaces, mere fields of corn or wheat, or territory filled with meaning. Everything depends upon the interpreter. The country environment has an unquestioned supremacy in poetry, freedom and closeness to nature, and ingenuity. It is the spirit of the age that is robbing it of much of its attractiveness.

The antidote is better education. Life in the country need not be uncomfortable. Country conditions need not be meagre or hard. Invention furnishes country people with the great majority of really important mechanical resources. Education that reveals to men and women in the country the things in life really worth while will prevent a hankering after the peculiar experiences possible only in great cities. The education must, however, be of social character. It must loosen the artificial grip that commerce now has over the desires of people everywhere. Human wants need not be so exclusively material as for a century they have been. Indeed, the reaction against the tyranny that quantitative stimulation has been exercising, largely because of our social immaturity, has already appeared. We are in the throes of a struggle for democratic culture. This movement must finally lead to the popularizing of good taste. When public opinion is equal to the discrimination required by modern applied science and can discover how to use machinery without being deluded by it, there must come a reconstruction in the ranking of human pleasures. This reform, which the very stability of society requires, will restore to the rural environment in reasonable degree its peculiar and wholesome appeal.

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DEVELOPMENT SURVEYS: RURAL AND FINANCIAL.

Part One.

SUGGESTIONS TOWARDS A NATIONAL POLICY FOR AGRICULTURE.¹

I.

THE first and greatest fight of the agricultural reformer in England and countries similarly situated is over the question whether anything material can be done for the safety of the nation in time of emergency; whether the country can be made to grow a material part, if not the whole, of its foodstuffs. Is it worth while fussing over a few thousands or even hundreds of thousands acres more or less of home grown food? Will that materially alter the problem of transport and independence in time of war?

Those who tend to think only in terms of industries and towns do not see that a little more or less, one or two million quarters of wheat, makes any serious difference. Frankly they are more inclined to view the question as academical, as some philanthropic fad, not as a primary and vital matter. They are resigned in advance to see the country irremediably obliged to import most of its food and, perhaps, incidentally to make a little money over it.

The second problem is mainly sociological: it concerns the internal physiology of the nation. Can the balance between urban and rural populations be re-established? Each with its own virtues and specific qualities. Can agriculture be revived on a sound economic basis? Essentially the problem comes to this:

What is the land fit for? How much of it is available for profitable agriculture? How can it best be utilized? And incidentally what opportunity does it offer for returned soldiers and sailors who cannot or are unwilling to be absorbed by industry?

Unfortunately agriculturists are rather handicapped in answering these questions. They may have seen with their own eyes that the country may be made nearly independent, and that the question looms large; but they are quite unable to base their conclusions on statistics or reliable data. Some, like Dr. Russell, dare not publicly put their estimates of the possible new wheat area at above 600,000 acres or so per annum. Others talk of millions and millions of acres.

1. An abstract of this paper was published in the *Sociological Review*, Vol. xii, No. 1, 1920.

Going through official documents or books on agriculture, one is struck by the divergence of opinions as to the acreage of land capable of coming under the plough. Nobody is able to form an even approximate estimate. The truth is there is no real basis for even a guess at it.

The best that can be done apparently is to go back to the arable area in the sixties or seventies. There is no need to emphasize the arbitrary character of that basis in estimating the redeemable area of arable. It is only necessary to consult the agricultural history of the land as outlined by Dr. Gilbert Slater. It is clear from this that to pretend to take as a starting point for the conversion of ploughland to grassland and for the estimation of arable land any time after the completion of the last Enclosure Act or any date in the sequence of seven centuries, is futile. Even if we were to revert to the Domesday Book, we should not have a sure basis for knowing what was ploughed in England at one time, less still what might be profitably tilled in future.

It is not necessary to presume that during any period all the land was under the plough. Much undoubtedly was timbered, or grazed. Much was farmed unprofitably. The population was extremely small in comparison with the present one. Nevertheless, a good deal of land must have been cultivated that was fit for the plough and has reverted to grass and conversely.

What is obvious is that nobody knows the extent to which the land may be cultivated by basing statistics on any ploughed area at any given time during the last eight centuries.

Now we cannot say what ought to be done unless we know what extent of land we have at our disposal. And since reliable data is lacking we have no means of knowing that without carrying through a preliminary survey. It is quite futile to confuse scientific calculations with astute guesswork.

II.

Mr. Benchara Branford in his remarkable book, "A New Chapter in the Science of Government," puts the question in a nutshell when he says that the new policy must have a functional woof and a geographical warp. If this is the case, as seems probable to the writer, we are in the singular position of having a woof but no warp, and so cannot proceed usefully to weave our web.

Now in spite of the fact that we have a vast amount of resources available for an agricultural reconstruction how is it so little is done, that no far-reaching policy is planned? How is it that agriculture does not revive? Of course we are yet to see the effects of the new prices of 95 and 100 shillings a quarter of wheat. But

even if this leads to a revival of interest in wheat growing, perhaps to a relative prosperity of some 200,000 farmers, it is but a side issue, one of the problems.

All the materials are on the spot, and yet the house does not rise. The materials remain idle. Why? Largely because they are scattered, unrelated, unconnected, unsystematised. They are but the woof. The warp is wanting. The web cannot be made. What is the warp? *Regionalism*.

We want to bring together all those functional resources, but on the basis of agricultural geography, of agricultural regions, on the one hand, and on more effective centralisation on the other.

The two terms of centralisation and regionalism are not contradictory or even opposed. They are reciprocating elements in a single process, as Mr. Benchara Branford insists. Both movements of integration and analysis are indeed complementary.

But it should be evident that there cannot be a real integration of the wrong units. There cannot be a genuine adjustment or organisation of parts which are purely artificial, and have no real entity or individuality. What can be had on such a basis of the actual political units—counties, parishes? It is perhaps not impossible to quote parishes or counties that have a natural basis, that form a natural ensemble. But on the whole, such units are purely arbitrary and artificial, not geographical or natural.

Before you synthesise, you must analyse. The analysis must be in terms of natural regions and districts. The Ecological Society is making efforts to define such natural regions. But the true basis of a definition of regions of man's work and life is the Agricultural Survey for whose institution the present paper is a plea.

Political or administrative units which cut across natural units or regions, severing common interests and solidarities, may have been all right in times past when consciously or unconsciously the shibboleth of Government was: *Divide et impera* and the main aim was political domination. But with a new conception of Government the tangle becomes simply bewildering when one is confronted not with one patchwork of purely arbitrary and artificial divisions, but with about a score or so of similar patchworks, all equally unreal and fanciful, all products of ultra-specialized departmental isolation, including agricultural education, the Post Office, the Labour Exchange, Food Commissioners, Coal Commissioners, Live Stock Commissioners, Ministries of National Service, Education, Health and War, Petty Sessional Divisions, Rural Districts, Registration, Parliamentary, Administrative, etc.¹

1. Cf. "Devolution: A Regional Movement." By H. J. Peake. *Sociological Review*, Vol. xi, no. 2, 1919.

Here, then, are a multitude of patchwork administrative areas without *liaison*, and without solid basis. For various purposes, a man or an area may be in twenty several and disconnected divisions, which have no possible inter-relation at any level or stage, except at Westminster. How can economy and efficiency be realised in this apotheosis of Red Tape?

But a new confusion has arisen out of the fact that many fervent protagonists of regionalism, while referring to geographical regions or provinces, simply mean the time-honoured, if in most cases equally artificial, counties, boroughs or parishes.

It should be borne in mind that these are not in any sense geographical or natural divisions, and that no advantage will accrue from devolution on such bases, even were it possible. The real basis of regionalism is to be found in the natural environment, climate and soil, topography and rock, vegetation and agriculture, as determining and expressed in human activities and products, and their historical and social consequences. But this bears no relation to county or borough boundaries, or to divisions based on the amount of population or any other similar consideration.

The provinces, regions and *pays*, as suggested and outlined by H. J. Peake, certainly come nearer to the true geographical conception of the word region, but it seems necessary after all to go back to the lines defined by William Marshall, the founder of the Board of Agriculture at the end of the 18th century, and to develop them and bring them up to date. *Regionalism*, I submit, is the foundation of a new geographical distribution. Regionalism cannot be arrived at by any other method than an Agricultural Survey, which ascertains what can be done and what is done with each plot of land, which defines what kind of activity man can best develop within a given natural environment, what is or should be the natural avocation of each part of the land, what are its special economic and social interests, what type of occupation, mode of living, working, mode of thinking and feeling of its inhabitants, actual and possible.

Once regionalism is properly defined and established, people with a common habitat and environment, with common or complementary activities and interests and needs, sentiments and affections, thoughts and feelings and institutions, will be reunited by a common bond of solidarity. They may be made conscious of it. And out of a greater attachment for their region a new feeling of citizenship may arise and flourish, a basis for that greater citizenship which arises when the people of one unit or one region more clearly realize their interdependence and relationship with other similar units, as the several but interdependent organs of a single body. Then it will be possible to integrate and organise those

natural units and weld them into more comprehensive administrative and political units.

This principle was really at the bottom of the location of many important agricultural schools and colleges, *e.g.*, of Wye for Kent, of Chelmsford for East Anglia, of Cirencester for the Upper Thames region, of Reading and Aberystwyth and others which I shall not attempt to enumerate. Indeed it never can be absent from the mind of true agriculturists.

Regionalism will vitalize all those functional elements and resources that are inchoate. It will define their aims and functions, make their work more concrete, and bring them in closer touch with realities.

Each region will feel more keenly interested alike in its environment, geology and subsoil, in its climate and botany, in its work of engineering, drainage, reclamation, improvements; in its specific needs of breeds and seeds, of treatment of soil, of cropping and economics, of pathology, etc. Such institutions of research, experiment and teaching will be vitalized by having their task at once more concrete and in more intimate touch with life and work, and common local needs. They will also respond to the moral and material interest of the regional community, and benefit by a closer inter-relation of research and practical experience.

In such a manner also, occupationalism as expressed in Trades-Unions, Guilds, syndicates and financial groups, which tend to cut across all geographical, local, or national interests, will be duly moderated and take a better perspective view of things. The basis of all this, I repeat, is the Agricultural Survey.

III.

There are a great many returns on production and the value of the land. The excise officers, the land valuers, have accumulated mountains of documents coming from land-owners, farmers, and smallholders of every sort. Unfortunately they are all in the form of columns and tables of figures, occasionally also of graphs and diagrams, and all these columns and figures do not speak to the mind, do not enable anyone to make a synopsis, far less a synthesis, to visualise or realise the actual situation. They are dissevered from their causes and origins, of situation, environment, etc. What we really need is a map of utilization of the land, showing how each parcel is actually used; a statistical map.

In this sense, the greatest approximation so far reached on any scale is a sketch or succession of sketches made by Sir Daniel Hall and Dr. Russell for Kent, Sussex, and Surrey. They show by means of stipples the proportion of acres devoted to various crops,

such as wheat, potatoes, mangels, and hops. But they are more in the nature of charts. I have had no opportunity to see the maps made in Nottinghamshire by the County Councils or those made by Norfolk by some of the staff of the Cambridge School of Agriculture. The only effort to my knowledge made in the direction of a map is the isolated effort of Mr. C. C. Fagg for Croydon, on the one-inch scale, and for the parish of Downe, on the six-inch scale. They are only the utilisation part of a long series of maps, geological, topographical, climatic, botanical, historical, even occupational and sociological, which were carried through in the first stages of the war under the greatest difficulties. I have no doubt that similar maps exist for estates locked up also in the desks of bailiffs, stewards, surveyors and landowners. But one thing may be certain, namely, that they are unstandardized, unrelated, and in general, difficult of use, if available at all.

Now, the mode of using agricultural land varies from year to year, according to the rotations or ideas of the holder or occupant, and such maps ought to be made every year for four or five years, in order to give a complete idea of the use of the land. Once in possession of each datum, there should be no real difficulty in expressing synoptically on one map the use to which the land is put. The process of recording these facts could appreciably be shortened by enlisting the help of owners and farmers. The utilization map of the parish of Downe is the result of a total of twelve hours of work by Mr. Fagg. But I do not offer this figure as that of the time in which everybody or the average surveyor may do it in. First, Mr. Fagg had in hand an excellent method which he had contrived himself and of which he was a master. As against this, however, I have it from Mr. Fagg that many questions besides that of putting down what he saw, occupied his time and attention. The author, I understand, submitted his scheme to the Board of Agriculture. As for the stock, again I have it from Mr. Fagg, who devoted a great deal of thought to the subject, that, albeit delicate, the problem is by no means insuperable, and that he has devised means of arriving at an approximation probably greater than that obtained by other means.

But let us go a step further. What we really need for constructive purposes is a productivity map. We cannot take it for granted that all the land is properly utilized, according to its best capacity, nor can we take it as a postulate that the yield of every acre is the best that can be had. There is farming and farming, and from official testimony, one may be sure that there are enormous wastes on most farms and beyond this a good deal of productive land goes to waste.

We want to approach the question just as a skilled and

scientific, yet systematic, agriculturist would when he has recently got hold of an estate and sets to himself the problem of making the most of it. He would first, even before buying, survey it carefully, each and every parcel of it, examine and study its lie, slope, aspect, exposure, the drainage, natural and artificial, the rock, subsoil and soil, have it analysed; see what each and every plot of land can be adapted for, estimate roughly its yield. He would then sit down and plot all this on a map and take a synoptic view of the problem, having regard to adjacent interests, facilities of access, roads and drainage, and so forth, balancing and altering the various parts so as to fit his various needs. He would then organize and *plan* his fields, roads, and buildings for a maximum of practical efficiency in handling.

Doubtless the problem of the individual owner is infinitely simpler than that of a nation, in proportion as the various needs and interests of a nation transcend individual necessities and interests. But the process of systematic planning is essentially the same, in the sense that the basis is the productivity map. What can be best done with each part and parcel of the land?

We thus come to the conception of a double survey:—

1. A utilization survey, recording statistically what is actually done with the land.
2. A productivity survey, recording the best potential use of the land with a view to a maximum production.

The first to be carried on by the ordinary surveyor with a working knowledge of agriculture and the land.

The second to be worked out by a staff of experienced, scientific, and progressive agriculturists. They could be worked out in combination or simultaneously.

Then, and only then, is the situation ready for the sociologist and economist, and a third series of investigations, with a view to formulating social policy, could be instituted. Once in possession of such data synoptically presented, the sociologist would step in to spot, locate and combine all the common, complementary or conflicting interests. There is not only the question of food supply, but that of industry, of afforestation, of grazing, of sports and games, of housing and health, of social amenities, including historical interests, public or official needs, etc.

Into the sociological side of rural planning, at once so delicate and controversial, I do not propose to enter. My point is to suggest that the sociologist or statesman should have a solid and concrete basis of data, presented in a synthetic, working and suggestive way, and I submit that the double survey here outlined is necessary, indeed urgent, and that without it no serious work can be hoped to be undertaken.

IV.

I now wish to illustrate the practical bearings of the double agricultural survey, by taking one by one the various aspects of the Land Question as found in the *Report of the Land Enquiry Committee* of 1913.

1. *Small Holdings*. We read that "in certain districts holdings under 50 acres are the economic units, just as in other districts holdings of 500 to 1,000 acres are the economic units."

This is quite sound. But how are we to know those various districts unless on the basis of a productivity or potential survey, survey No. 2, as outlined above?

2. *The Wage Question*. I have no wish to be controversial. The fact is, that a minimum wage for farm labourers has been studied, perhaps enacted, by the Wage Board. The result is sure to be in many cases that farmers will prefer to convert their land into grass rather than risk the increased expenditure involved, and the uncertainty of new conditions. This may be sound business from the standpoint of the individual farmer. But it may be the nation's business to see that land is not converted into grass or otherwise wasted, should it be proved that that land could produce three or four times or more foodstuffs by a reform of farming and business methods on modern lines of efficiency. I do not wish to advocate this or the other policy or to take sides. At the same time, I may recall that it has been pointed out by more than one writer, and in more than one official report, that land ownership is in the nature of a monopoly, just as coal-mine ownership, and the interest transcends that of private ownership and is the whole nation's interest. The least that can be done is to put it on record that here is a portion of land valuable, but now lying practically idle and available in time of emergency. An Agricultural Survey would reveal such deficiencies and possibilities.

Again wages may vary from district to district according to the expenses of working the land and the possible returns from it. An Agricultural Survey would indicate the class of land.

3. *Rural Housing*. The number of cottages depends on the number of families not only actually on the land, but potentially to be employed or settled, whether as labourers or small holders or in any other capacity. This number of families again is largely a function of the productive potentiality of each natural district. This can only be ascertained and marked by a survey.

Again such a survey would be a necessary preliminary step to placing or locating the cottages, whether in groups of villages, or isolated, with due regard to health, convenience of work, utilization of land, amenities, and all other considerations.

4. The question of the *Access of agricultural labourers to the land, of allotments, small holdings*. These matters bear a clear

relation to the potentiality of the land as exhibited by an Agricultural Survey. Provision for increase of population and the settlement of sons and daughters should receive proper attention on the same basis.

Opportunities for settlers, ex-service men for instance and primarily, are now an absolutely unknown quantity. Whereas the Dominions are able to attract ex-soldiers and sailors and others by tangible offers, we are unable to say how many broad acres are available under one scheme or another, and where they are and what they are fit for. As I have attempted to show, computations of acres based on what was done in '70, in '50 or '15 are for the most part without value. We simply do not know. Is it not about time we had accurate knowledge?

5. *Acquisition of Land by the County Councils.* County Councils ought to know where are the particular districts best suited to their purposes, and how much land is available, and all particulars about it. How can they do it advisedly without a preliminary survey of the whole county? Or must they continue to buy in a haphazard manner or as opportunity offers?

6. To determine where and what *game* can be tolerated near agricultural areas, a survey is indispensable.

7. The length of tenure again is largely determined by the class of land, cost of working, initial improvements, etc., which are studied and expressed by the Agricultural Survey.

8. *State-aided Purchase.* To fix prices and rents requires some notion of the quality and situation of the land. Surely prices and rents, even in England, ought to bear some relation to the productivity and working of the land.

9. If it is proposed to set up *Land Courts* to fix fair prices and rents, to fix the length of tenure and appraise the value of improvements, what better, indeed what other, basis than an Agricultural Survey as outlined?

10. Similarly for the rating of sporting land and private amenity land, a fair basis is supplied by our survey.

11. Finally, as a solid ground for agricultural credit, two securities ultimately count; namely, character of the borrower and the potentiality of the land, and for the latter I see no other means of valuation on a large scale than an Agricultural Survey.

As a practical suggestion, what of applying that half million sterling recently earmarked for the land valuation staff to the object set forth above? It would be more than enough to launch such a survey as we propose. And since the five millions sterling consumed in that valuation are henceforth useless, why not at least take advantage of the best elements of the staff thus set in motion and apply them to this new task?

London,

MARCEL HARDY.

Part Two.

A REGIONAL ECONOMY BASED ON REGIONAL SURVEYS.

To many the term Finance raises a somewhat alarming conception, as of a subject altogether too abstruse and mysterious for anyone but the life-long initiated to understand, or to deal with. But on close examination not a little of its mysteriousness turns out to be very much of the nature of a "bogey."

To begin with, one must avoid confusing Finance with money, or even banking, large subjects which are, however, portions, though essential portions of the machinery of finance. The clue to the understanding of Finance is to realise that it is concerned chiefly with determining the end to which this machinery shall be used, and then assuring its application to this end. What purpose shall the machinery of credit be made to serve? *That* is the financier's first question. And since money is merely an index of and a claim on resources, the practical question is how shall the available resources be utilized in an agreed scheme of action.

What Finance, as a technique, has to deal with is the disposal of resources for further development, and the customary name for these collective resources is Capital. The assumptions made or implied are first that the capital shall be used to produce the maximum return from the economic standpoint, and secondly (more dubiously), that the social value of the produce is justifiable.

Now the practice of finance being what it is, and business men being what they are, can we assume that what is by them judged most desirable on economic grounds will prove of the greatest social value, and conversely, that what is of the highest social value will appear worth while to financiers and entrepreneurs? Merely to state these questions is to make a criticism, not only of current financial practices, but also of much that passes for sound theory on the subject. For whilst there are many workers and students in the field of finance, such a co-ordination and appraisal of their work and their studies has not yet been reached which would raise the subject to the level of a science. The evidences of confusion on this subject are on every hand. A well-known City magnate, speaking the other day, wound up a homily on politics, education, industry, and morals, by saying, "Capital is simply the surplus savings set aside to produce more wealth; and to consume it instead of conserving it is the quickest of all roads to ruin." Yet every accountant knows, and every balance sheet tells, that the capital of a given business is the sum of all its resources at any given moment of time, and knows too that to conserve it without consuming it is of all roads whatsoever the surest to ruin. A cynic indeed might be pardoned for interpreting the homily as meaning that all the resources which our magnate and his friends can obtain control of are capital, and will be wisely invested as such by them,

But to do Lord Inchcape justice, his point, whether he knows it or not, is, I think, *intended* to be this, that in the consumption of resources there should be two objectives : (a) the production of more wealth, and (b) the maintenance and even the raising of the standard of life; and that to these objectives the whole mind and energies of the nation should be devoted.

If then we admit as an essential objective of Finance the maintenance, and even the raising of the standard of life, Finance now appears, no longer as merely a means by which individuals or corporate businesses are assisted to the appropriation of profits, but as nothing more nor less than the science of directing the collective energies towards national well-being. In other phrasing, Finance might be defined as the science of the mobilization of Life-energies, hence the term Social Finance as the title under which this paper was originally read.

But, it will be asked, how is this view of Finance and its purpose to be given effect to, even if the argument be conceded? That, to be sure, is one of the largest and most difficult of questions. All that one can here attempt is to indicate a few of the ways in which a real co-ordination of energies may be directed through Finance towards the social ends.

Take as an instance of a more Social Finance, that of supplies for the war through which we have just passed. There the urgent objective of winning the war swept aside all the ordinary business rules and conceptions that seemed to stand in the way. Every energy was bent to producing what was required towards that end regardless of whether the product could be sold at remunerative prices. No doubt there was extravagance both in production and in use, but all war is extravagant, and the main point to observe is that the largest practicable output of goods and services was brought about without any limitation by the pecuniary claims of individuals. It will be said, "Yes, but look at the cost! Look at what we are now having to pay!" The reply is that the war has already been paid for in energies since the necessary goods and services have already long ago been forthcoming. [What now vexes us are really the attempts at present being made to allocate to each of us our share in replacing goods and services which were used up in the war.] Had the financing of ruined Europe with goods and services towards constructive ends been as wholeheartedly entered upon by the belligerent nations at the conclusion of the war, as was the financing of the war itself towards its destructive ends, I do not think we should now be faced by the problem of whole populations starving and disheartened, and with a constant menace of new wars. We should at least have had the satisfaction of seeing some concrete return for the energies so expended, perhaps even something towards that indemnity over the amount and

apportionment of which the Council of the Allied Nations was recently squabbling.

Similarly, had our housing problem been tackled in a like spirit a practicable solution must have been found; for is not the proper housing of the workers in peace time as important to their industrial efficiency as their adequate cantonment in war is to their military efficiency?¹

The objective of an improved standard of life calls then for a similar change from the conception of business as subordinating the job-in-hand to individual claims for profit, to the conception of first of all getting the job-in-hand done. Indeed there is a strange inability of those who are preaching increased production to see that any national effort in this direction must have an improved standard of life as its objective, and that this is by no means certain if production is subordinated to individual claims for profits. Their inability to see this is clearly the reason why the appeal of these people has been received so coldly by Labour throughout the country. That the pursuit of individual profit and the achievement of social ends are parts of one harmonious process was assumed by the earlier economists. But it is now questioned on all sides, and not least by the more thoughtful economists. Some economists, indeed, make precisely the contrary assumptions. In the words of a well-known writer on Economics: "It is plain enough that the discrepancy between productive capacity and current productive output can readily be corrected, in some appreciable degree at least, by any sufficient authority that shall undertake to control the country's industrial forces without regard to pecuniary profit and loss. Any authority competent to take over the control and regulate the conduct of the community's industry with a view to maximum output as counted by weight and tale, rather than by net aggregate price-income over price-cost, can readily effect an appreciable increase in the effectual productive capacity; but it can be done only by violating that democratic order of things within which business enterprise runs. The several belligerent nations of Europe showed in the war that it can be done, that the sabotage of business

1. As evidence of an attempt towards what might be called a more direct finance, notice the action taken by the Housing Guild in Manchester. In effect the financiers have said, "We have no money to give for housing, since it offers no profit." To which the Housing Guild replies: "We do not propose either to give profit, or to ask the financier for money. We can get bricks and mortar on credit, we will ourselves do the work; financial services would, in the situation, be superfluous, and profit, therefore, an overcharge." It will be observed that the policy of the Guild is based on the elemental fact that it requires certainly no more bricks and practically no more man-hours now to build a house than it did before the War. Further, as a significant beginning in the discrimination between social and unsocial purpose, note the recent restrictions by the Ministry of Health in regard to what is called "luxury building."

enterprise can be put aside by sufficiently heroic measures. And they also showed that they are all aware, and have always been aware, that the conduct of industry on business principles is incompetent to such a degree indeed as not to be tolerable in a season of desperate need, when the nation requires the full use of its productive forces, equipment and man-power, regardless of the pecuniary claims of individuals."

Without going all the way with this particular professor of Economics (who by the way is no socialist, not even of the chair, but among the keenest critics of socialism), one might still declare that "the season of desperate need" is no less with us now that the war is over. Indeed, we are being told by many high authorities in industry and politics that without the maximum effort of production we shall inevitably go under in the race of nations. Whether these same high authorities are prepared to constitute themselves "a competent authority" and to undertake to control the country's industrial forces without regard to profit and loss, is quite another question. But on this question of maximising the output, as on all others, dogma must be put sternly aside. In any scientific discussion of finance, the approach must be along the line of practical investigation.

First and foremost it is essential to map out the ground to be covered. What are :

- (a) The material resources to be developed;
- (b) the objectives for which the development of these resources are required;
- (c) the resources of human labour which can be brought to bear upon that development?

Assuming, therefore, our problem to refer to a definite area—we shall require to know everything we can of :

- (a) the resources of that area, namely :
 - its geology (soil and minerals);
 - climate;
 - water supply;
 - vegetation.

(In a word a complete mapping of all the relevant physical features.)

- (b) the characteristic industries and occupations to which the area gives rise;
- (c) the resulting conditions of human existence, the race or type and their characteristics and capabilities and their social customs.

A mere collection of such statistical information will of course be of very little use. It must be summarized in graphic form and presented as Economic Maps, designed and schematized for the purpose in view. Dr. Marcel Hardy has called attention to various initiatives in this direction in his paper on a "National

Policy in Agriculture." And in urging the need for such maps, he pointed out that such statistical graphs or maps must be supplemented by others showing possible developments.

To make such a survey should, from the business standpoint, be the most elementary piece of common sense, but certainly nothing so comprehensive has as yet been attempted, or even suggested by the financial world. The reason for this lack of commonsense procedure is perhaps to be sought in the mental reaction of habitually seeking individual profit. But even on the ground of economic working this conception of individual profit as the main objective is found to be wasteful in such practical investigations as have been carried out by competent observers. In a recent "survey of waste" made by an American engineer of high repute the actual fraction of the energy in all the coal mined in America that gets used in the industrial process, was found to be incredibly small. Nevertheless the colliery business in America is presumably willingly assisted by the financier, provided each individual business can show a profit on its job. To complete and complement the survey of coal wastage there is needed in commonsense procedure a further survey estimating, *e.g.* the saving of time, money, and life to be found by the consumption of coal at the pit, turning it into electric power on the spot, and distributing it by cable.

I know I shall be told that the capital involved in the existing defective methods would be destroyed, if the recommendations of the commonsense surveys and reports were carried out, and I have some sympathy with the point of view of the so-called vested interest, but if vested interests cannot altogether be prevented from arising, surely the financier should see to it that due provision by sinking fund or otherwise, is made against this form of obsolescent capital.

Good finance is not concerned with any attempt to preserve dead assets, or to obtain for itself the largest amount of commissions. The secret of good finance is the employment of the very minimum of energies consistent with the efficient attainment of the object in view. But withal even a finance which is non-wasteful in its methods may still be harmful if utilized with other object than the maintenance or the raising of the standard of life. Now, as biologists tell us, life results from the interaction of environment and organism; and applying this principle in a social sense, we may say that "the good life" only comes about when the human organism interacts vividly along the whole social scale, running through home, village, town, city, region, up to the widest limits of the community. And consideration of these interactions is clearly an integral element in Social Finance.

Thus given our definite area or region to be developed, we have

seen that an exhaustive stock-taking is necessary as an essential preliminary. When this has been done, we shall have before us a comprehensive mapping of the existing conditions, and of their interaction, the area in all its aspects giving rise to its own characteristic occupation, and these modifying and being modified at every step by the people according to their racial and personal characteristics.

Our task then is :

- (1) To study each area, its occupations, and its people and to organize these in the most comprehensive and efficient manner, constantly developing new lines of activity as these are suggested by experience and study.
- (2) Next to organize the inter-relation of different areas and community groups and to co-ordinate the whole.
- (3) As an ultimate and necessary sequel to co-ordinate the still larger geographical areas and communitary groupings so organized.

Our survey will at the very outset make apparent that in every area each characteristic occupation has its own characteristic type of finance. For in reality the whole matter is intimately bound up with the question of exchange of goods and services, and can only be effectively studied in relation to these.

Take as an instance the business of farming. The financial needs of the farmer are in the main enclosed within the compass of the year extending from harvest to harvest, and are seldom of longer interval between expenditure and return. But different types of farming again differ within this compass. The farmer who is growing wheat or other corn crops mainly, has to face the expenditure for seed, manures, and labour in the winter and spring, and for labour during the summer and autumn, and until harvest is reaped he is practically without any income from which to meet these expenses. On this basis the curve of his financial requirements shows a steady rise for approximately eleven months of the year against an income concentrated into one month of the year. The curve thus shows sharply marked extremes which the financier must take into account in any considerable dealings with the farming industry. But if we take the case of the dairy farmer we find a markedly contrasted set of conditions. Against a more or less regular expenditure for feeding-stuffs and labour, he customarily receives a regular fortnightly or monthly payment for the sale of milk. As a consequence the curve of his financial requirements shows no such marked extremes, but only very slight rises and falls.

The financial difficulties of the first-named type of farming due to the extremes mentioned are well known and have many undesirable results, not the least of these being that crops have often to be realized far below their value. But the second case indicates one of

the ways in which these extremes may be avoided and the farmers' finances stabilized. I suggest in fact that the survey and study which I am urging should lead to the social financier insisting in such a case on the development of every possible supplementary resource, as an obvious economy of finance.

That this is in the line of the most recent scientific theory and practice in agriculture is instanced by the systems of "continuous cropping" and "soiling" so-called, the economic effectiveness of which is now fully established.

Again, take the finance of the farm labourer (though perhaps he has hitherto scarcely been regarded as a subject worthy of the attention of the financier!). Much discussion has centred round the question of a minimum wage. I confess, whilst in every way willing that the condition of the farm labourer should be improved, I have every sympathy with the farmer who is asked to pay these higher wages. The occupations of the farm are subject, according to the type of farming, to more or less violent extremes of employment and unemployment, a fact which has no doubt largely determined the hitherto low rates, and to pay greatly increased wages may be quite truly a wholly uneconomic proposition.

Yet a wage which the occupation can economically pay, being duly proportioned to the labour which it requires and employs, may be wholly inadequate from the standpoint of the labourer, from the fact that the occupation restricts his market, or affords him only a very partial market for the labour he has to sell. We have thus to organize a market for his surplus labour if he is to be enabled to improve his standard of living. An improvement may so far be effected by a re-organization of the farm itself under the more intensive methods above referred to. But the life and occupations of the farm no more cover the whole of the activities of a district than the farm itself. Thus the re-organization has to be planned, not of individual or detached farms merely, but in relation to some larger unit which should be determined by geographical, physical and other considerations. Such divisions will include the varied characteristics and conditions which determine the life of the resident community as a whole, and thus an economy, not of the farm alone, but of the area has to be worked out. Thus arises the idea of a Regional Economy and the corresponding Regional Finance. The financing of the farmer and his labourer plainly necessitates this wider view, and suggests an organized co-ordination of the activities of the community, a bringing of its whole available energies into touch with the work which it requires to be done, as well as the organizing of fresh outlets for these energies. Herein, for instance, lies one of the principal benefits of the revival of rural industries of all kinds, in that they provide an outlet for surplus energies, and in return a surplus income.

